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U. N. GHOSHAL

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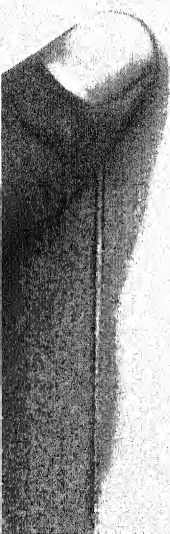
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Contributions from the Mahāvamsa to our knowledge of the Mediaeval Culture of Ceylon

By Dr. Wilhelm Geiger.

[Continued from JGIS., Vol. II, no. 2.]

II

1. THE KING AND THE ROYAL COURT.

2. Court-life.

19. The town or village where the king had his residence is called *rājadhānī* (royal city). It is the capital of the kingdom. The oldest capital was Anurādhapura, situated near the Malvatu-oya, in a plain which could be cultivated by artificial irrigation. It was a village founded, according to tradition, by one of Vijaya's companions in the time of the first Aryan immigration (*Mhvs.* 7.43). Paṇḍukābhaya, the fourth Sinhalese king, is said to have founded a city near Anurādhapura and to have made it his residence. The city was fortified and the ancient wall and ditch are still traceable, but the area it covers is comparatively small, hardly more than fifty acres. Nearly all the ruins of the splendid monastic monuments lie outside the fortification. But from that time onwards Anurādhapura has been a sacred place for the

Sinhalese people; so it was even in later times when it ceased to be the seat of the royal court; it bore the name of *mūla-rājadhānī* (the original capital). It suffered much from the invasions of the *Damiḷas*, the population decreased more and more, and the sacred buildings went to decay. In our chronicle the situation is thus described as it was in the 12th century (*Mhvs.* 78.98.) The great Dagobas, the Lohapāsāda, the palaces and monasteries aforetime destroyed by the *Coḷas*, were ruined and the ruins overgrown with trees. Bears and panthers were dwelling there and the ground of the jungle scarce offered a foothold by reason of the heaps of bricks and earth. Parakkamabāhu I bestowed care upon the restoration of Anurādhapura. In two different passages (74.1 sq. and 78.96 sq.) an account is given of his enterprise. He sent to Anurādhapura a high dignitary who restored within a short time the walls and the streets, the palaces and the gardens, the ruined Dagobas and the Lohapāsāda and many other buildings. It seems, however, that the work was not completely executed, for about a century later prince Vijayabāhu (IV) betook himself to Anurādhapura, had the mighty forest round about the Thūpārāma and all the other sacred places felled and these places embellished with new buildings (88.80 sq.). But apparently he did not complete the restoration of the most sacred Ruvanvāli Dagoba, for he appointed a prominent priest to look after his work.

The second capital was Pulatthinagara, now Polonnaruwa. The town is first mentioned in the 7th century (*Mhvs.* 44.122) and was a temporary residence of Aggabodhi IV (658-74 A.D.) and later on of some other kings of the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries (46.34, 48.74, 50.9, 54.68), chiefly as a refuge when the invasions of the *Damiḷas* were threatening. In the reign of Vijayabāhu I (1070-1114 A.D.) Pulatthinagara definitely became the capital of the kingdom. Before that time the *Coḷas* had taken possession of the northern half of Ceylon and the power of the Sinhalese rulers was restricted to the southernmost provinces. But Kittī, the later Vijayabāhu, after some vain efforts, finally succeeded in defeating and expelling the *Coḷas* and in restoring the Sinhalese kingdom (G. C.

Mendis, *Early History of Ceylon*, pp. 55, 74). However he did not make Anurādhapura his residence, but Pulatthinagara. It offered more security against the Damiḷas and was of greater strategic importance, being farther off from the western coast of the island and nearer to the frontier of Rohaṇa.

The last king who resided in Pulatthinagara was the cruel Kāliṅga usurper Māgha. In these disturbed times some of those isolated rocks, which are so frequent in the Ceylonese lowland, had been fortified by prominent Sinhalese who wished to keep their independence, as the Subha mountain in the Māyā-ratṭha and the Govindasela in Rohaṇa. King Vijaya-bāhu III (1232-36 A.D.), who succeeded in restoring the royal power at least in the Māyā country had his residence in Jambuddoṇi, i.e., Dambadeniya near Kurunegala. Later capitals were Hatthigiripura, i.e., Kurunegala, Gaṅgasiripura, i.e., Gampol, in the 14th century and Kottṭē near Colombo up to the 16th century. The last royal residence of the Sinhalese kings in the Portuguese and Dutch periods and when the Englishmen arrived in Ceylon, was Sirivaddhana, the modern Kandy.

The city of Pulatthinagara was considerably larger than that of Anurādhapura. It had the length of about one mile from North to South and a breadth of half a mile from East to West. On the Western side it dominates the Tōpā-veva, on the three other sides walls and ditches can still be easily traced. As in Anurādhapura, a good deal of the ruins lie outside the city. They have been excavated to a large extent and they make the splendour and wealth of the mediaeval Sinhalese royalty manifest to the modern visitor.

20. The Royal Palace (*pāsāda, rājageha, rājamaṇḍira, rañño ghara, antepura*) with the surrounding courtyard (*rājamaṇḍira*) was a citadel within the city and had its own ramparts. The remainder of the palace in Anurādhapura may perhaps be the building which is now traditionally called Geḍi-gē and which is situated near the centre of the city. Much larger was the citadel in Pulatthinagara with the splendid palace built by Parakkamabāhu I. It measures about 350 yards in length and 250 yards in breadth.

The description of Parakkamabāhu's palace in the chronicle (*Mhvs.* 73.61 sq.) is quite in accordance with a common model and we cannot make out from it a true idea of the building. The technical expressions occurring in the passage are met with in literature wherever a palace is spoken of (A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Early Indian Architecture*, III *Palaces in Eastern Art* III, 1931, p. 181 sq.).

The palace is (i) *sattabhūma*, seven-storeyed. It had, no doubt, upper storeys, but the number is merely schematic, as the numbers thousand or hundred in 2, 3, and 4. It had (ii) thousand chambers (*gabbha*) and (iii) many hundreds of pillars (*thambha*) which were variously adorned (*vicitra*) either in form or in colour. It had (iv) hundreds of *kūṭāgāras*, separately roofed pavillions which projected on any of the storeys. It had (v) doors (*dvāra*), large and small, (vi) windows (*ḥavāṭa*), (vii) stairs (*sopāna*) and (viii) well adorned walls (*bhitti*). It was radiant with manifold ornaments of creepers and flowers and offered conveniences for every season.

It is a lucky chance that the ruins, as far as they are excavated, render a better description of the palace possible than the verses of the *Mahāvamsa*.

The main and central part of the palace is a building of about 23 yards in length from North to South and 15 yards in breadth. It is divided into two equal parts by a broad passage running through it from East to West. The walls of this building are made of brick and very strong, nearly 10 feet thick, so that the interior space has not more than 8 yards in breadth. It is obvious that these walls had to support a superstructure, most probably the upper storeys.

The main door of the palace was on the eastern side. Through a vestibule one entered a large hall of about 38 yards in length from North to South and of 14 yards in breadth. Its roof was supported by three rows of altogether 36 pillars. We may suppose that in this splendid room the Court-festivals took place. The king in great state, sitting on his throne and surrounded by his attendants, showed here his sacred person to his subjects and received their homage.

Behind the hall is the central building and having passed

through it one entered a smaller hall on its Western side with one row of 8 pillars only, and quitted the palace through a gateway similar to the Eastern entrance, but much smaller.

The whole building is encircled on four sides by a great number of chambers, the largest of which have hardly more than four yards in length and even less in breadth. There are also remains of stone stairs leading to an upper storey. Here were, I think, the private chambers of the royal family and also open floors or terraces (*pāsāda-tala*, *mahātala*) where the king and the queen and their attendants could enjoy the sun on chilly days and the shade in the hot season. But the upper storeys of the palace in Pulatthinagara have entirely disappeared, probably owing to the fact that they were of slighter construction and partly made of wood. Doubtless the royal bedroom (*sirisayanagabbha*) which is described in *Mhvs.* 73.65 sq. was in this part of the building.

21. Besides the royal palace, there were, often or regularly, other buildings within the citadel (*rājāṅgaṇa*). In Pulatthinagara, ruins of several structures are still visible near the *pāsāda*. It is, however, impossible to ascertain their appropriation. But in *Mhvs.* 90.66, we are told that in the 14th century King Parakkamabāhu IV, who was residing in Kurunegala, erected a temple for the sacred Tooth Relic (*dāṭhādhātu*) within the royal courtyard. The Tooth Relic that was brought to Ceylon in the 4th century (37.92) was the palladium of the Sinhalese kingdom, and the rulers kept it in their immediate neighbourhood. In Anurādhapura, the ruins which by tradition are assumed to be those of the temple of the Tooth Relic (*dāṭhādhātughara*), are situated in the city not far from the Geḍi-gē. It is of interest to know where in Pulatthinagara the sacred relic was kept during the brightest period of the kingdom.

Within the citadel no trace has been found of a *dāṭhādhātughara*. But outside it, near its Northern Gate, there is an artificial terrace, measuring a little more than 100 yards square, on which a very important group of monuments is situated. Hitherto it was the prevalent opinion that these

monuments represent the Jetavanārāma which is mentioned as a foundation of Parakkamabāhu I and described in *Mhus.* 78.32 sq. I accepted myself this identification which was first suggested by H. W. Codrington. But it has been contested with weighty arguments by S. Paranavitana (*Polonnaruwa Topography*, in the *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Section—*Geography*, Vol. II, p. 161 sq.).

Paranavitana points out that it was against the practice of the Buddhist monks to have their monasteries inside the city, as we also see in Anurādhapura. Moreover, he states, chiefly from inscriptions found on the monuments, that the Quadrangle was the Temple of the Tooth Relic in the Polonnaruwa period. It had the name Daladā-maluva, Terrace of the Tooth Relic, both in books and inscriptions. One of the Quadrangle buildings was the Tooth Relic Temple of Vijayabāhu I (1059-1116 A.D.), another that of Nissanka-malla (1187-1196). We might expect that Parakkamabāhu I, who was reigning in the time between the two aforesaid kings, had also built a temple on the Quadrangle for that sacred palladium of the kingdom. The chronicle, however, merely says (74.198) that the King had erected in the middle of the town (*nagara-majjhamhi*) for the Tooth Relic a splendid temple of five proportions. On the Quadrangle there is one building, the so-called Thūpārāma, which perhaps can be regarded as Parakkamabāhu's temple of the Tooth. But I do not know if it can be attributed to that period on grounds of style.

I fully agree with Paranavitana so far that the Quadrangle is not identical with Parakkamabāhu's Jetavana monastery, and that its buildings were dedicated to the worship of the Tooth Relic. But I hesitate to accept the identification of the Jetavana with the northernmost group of ruins round the image-house, popularly called the Demaḷamahāsāya. It seems indeed to be beyond all doubts that the enumeration in *Mhus.* 78.40 sq. of the monasteries founded by Parakkamabāhu proceeds from South to North. The Jetavana is mentioned first. Since it is not the Quadrangle, we must identify it with the group immediately outside the Northern Gate

between the city wall and the Rankos-Dagoba. We return, therefore, to the former traditional nomenclature. The next monastery is the Ālāhaṇa-pariveṇa (78.48 sq.) with the Pacchimārāma, the Western monastery, adjoining it in the west, and the third is the Uttarārāma, the Northern Monastery (78.74-5) which is now appropriately called Gal-vehera, i.e., Rock Monastery. Finally, the Damiḷathūpa is mentioned in the chronicle (78.76). This is, no doubt, the huge heap of bricks, north of the Gal-vehera, now overgrown with jungle, looking like a natural hill over which run the paths of the wild elephants. The traditional name Demaḷamahasāya has been erroneously transferred to a building which is situated a good deal farther to the North and resembles the monuments of the Quadrangle, the Thūpārāma and the Hāṭa-dā-gē

Regarding the Jetavana, I refer to *Mhvs.* 78.41, where we are told that the King built in this monastery a beautiful round temple wholly of stone to the Tooth Relic. If this notice, which does not seem to be in keeping with the afore-cited passage concerning the erection of a Tooth temple in the middle of the city, is reliable at all, it would certainly better suit the Jetavana than the buildings to the North of the Damiḷathūpa, where Paranavitana supposes that temple to have been situated. It is hardly probable that the King would have kept the palladium of the royalty at so great a distance from his palace.

22. The Royal treasure (*rājasādhana*, *rājabhāṇḍa*) is frequently mentioned in the chronicle. The royal dignity is closely connected with its possession. It contained the insignia or ornaments (*rājābharaṇa*, *rājabhūṣaṇa*) which the king was wont to wear on festival occasions. Whenever the kingdom was in danger, the ruler did his utmost to secure the regalia. When Kassapa, the heroic son of Upatissa II (522-24 A.D.) realized the uselessness of resistance against the mighty usurper Silākāla, he took his father and with his life and the royal treasure tried to escape to the hill-country of Malaya. But he was surrounded on the way by his foes and committed suicide (*Mhvs.* 41.10 sq.). It was considered

as a great disaster that the Coḷas, when they seized King Mahinda V in the year 1017 A.D. also took possession of the royal insignia (*sabbaṃ ābharaṇaṃ*, 55.16) and sent them to Southern India.

A new Sinhalese king was always anxious to seize first of all the regalia without which his dignity would have been imperfect. When in the year 496 A.D. Moggallāna after the suicide in battle of his brother Kassapa I had occupied the kingdom he took the whole of the royal treasure (*sabbaṃ sādhaṇaṃ ādāya*, 39.28) and entered the capital to ascend the throne. After the death of Aggabodhi IV (647 A.D.) in Pulatthinagara the royal subjects secured the regalia (*rāja-bhaṇḍam*, 46.38) and brought them to Anurādhapura. When Aggabodhi VII died in the year 772 A.D. the heir apparent Mahinda II came from Mahātīttha and having crushed the rebels he had the intriguing queen put into fetters and seized the royal power together with the royal treasure (*rajjāṇi gaṇhi sasādhaṇaṃ*, 48.89).

The usurper Mitta who had killed the legitimate king Vijayabāhu IV about the year 1273 A.D. forced his way into the city of Tambuddoṇī, entered the royal palace, seated himself on the throne and showed himself to the whole army, his person adorned with royal ornaments (*rājabhūsaṇabhū-sitaṃ*, 90.13). After the Tooth Relic and the Bowl Relic were retaken in Rohaṇa by the generals of Parakkamabāhu and carried to Pulatthinagara with great solemnity, the king himself arrayed with all his ornaments (*sabbābharaṇabhū-sito*, 74.224) mounted his favourite elephant and surrounded by many dignitaries he went forth to reverence the sacred relics.

Such was the appearance of the Sinhalese kings on festive occasions.

23. The royal insignia were 64 in number (*Mhvs.* 82.50), but though they were often mentioned in literature, a list of them is not readily available (E. W. Perera, *Ceylon Notes and Queries*, III, 1914, p. xxxvi). Some of them are enumerated in the Thūpavaṃsa, a work composed in the 13th century, but the terms are hardly reconcilable with those occurring

in the Pali chronicle. There the following regalia are mentioned :—

(a) The *throne* (*āsana*, *sīhāsana*, *paḷlaṅka*). The expression 'lion-seat', is frequently used, for the lion is the symbol of royal power (25.98; 90.13, 23). Sometimes the king's seat was erected on the stone figure of a crouching lion. A specimen of such a figure with an inscription of king Nissaṅkamalla is preserved in the Colombo Museum.

(b) When sitting on the throne the king wore a *crown* on his head which was adorned with gold and precious stones. The most superb of the stones was the crest-jewel (*cūḷāmaṇi*). In the *Mahāvamsa* three terms occur for the crown : *maḷuṭa*, *ḷiṇṭa*, *moli*. I translate these words tentatively with crown, diadem, tiara. In the *Thūpavamsa* five kinds of crown (*Sinh. oṭunna*) are distinguished : *siddha*-, *miṇi*-, *siṃha*-, *vyāghra*-, and *ruva*-, crown, i.e., the celestial crown, the jewel-, lion-, tiger crown, and the golden crown (E. W. Perera, l.c. p. xxxvii. 19). It is, however, impossible to trace such a distinction in the Pali chronicle, nor do we know whether the three words used here are merely synonymous or denote different kinds of crown. King Kassapa II having defeated the usurper Dāṭhapatissa (641 A.D.) united the island again under one dominion, but it is expressly said that he did not wear the crown (*maḷuṭam eu na dhārayi*—44.145), for the royal insignia were in Dāṭhapatissa's possession (44.126-8). Among the treasures captured by the Coḷas in the year 1017 A.D., there was also the royal crown (*maḷuṭam*—55.16). In a similar connection the diadem is mentioned (*ḷiṇṭam*—56.10) which is also classed among the sixty-four royal ornaments in *Mhvs.* 82.50. In the description of Parakkambāhu's first coronation the term *moli*, the tiara, is used (71.28), and when after Mānābharāṇa's death, his second coronation took place he entered the capital in a solemn procession, sitting on the back of his state-elephant and wearing on his head the tiara (*sirasā dhārayaṃ moliṃ*—72.326), which sparkled with the brilliance of its jewels.

(c) The particular symbol of the royal dignity was the *white umbrella* (*seta-chatta*). The phrase 'to raise the (white)

umbrella' means the same as to ascend the throne (*Mhvs.* 55.1) and the phrase 'to unite Laṅkā under one umbrella', the same as to govern the whole island (64.32; 69.4). In the inscriptions the date is generally given by the words "in such and such a year after the elevation of the umbrella" (see above in para 4). In festive assemblies the umbrella was held over the king's head by an official of high rank whose title was *chattagāhaka* (59.16). Even in battles the king riding on his elephant was made recognisable by the white umbrella, as in modern times the position of the commander-in-chief by his standard. By a mishap king Saṃghatissa lost his umbrella in the battle against the rebel Moggallāna (afterwards M. III, 611-7). It fell to the ground, because it knocked against the branch of a tree. The hostile soldiers took it and handed it over to their commander. Moggallāna raised it standing on the summit of a hill. Thereupon the troops of Saṃghatissa abandoned their ruler and surrounded Moggallāna thinking he was now their king (44.18 sq.). The umbrella as a symbol of royalty is known to the whole of India since ancient times. A *chatta* was according to the tradition among the presents sent by king Asoka to Devānampiyatissa (11.28). The latter himself dedicated a white umbrella to the eight shoots of the sacred Bodhi-tree to honour them like kings, and he bestowed the royal consecration (*abhiseka*) upon them (19.59).

(d) The *cāmara* was a costly *fly-flapper*, the chowry or the bushy tail of the Tibetan Yak, *Bos gruniens*. It was often set in a costly decorated handle in which form it was one of the insignia of ancient Asiatic royalty. The chowry is therefore mentioned side by side with the umbrella (76.123; 99.47, 15; 100.193). Its handle is made of gold and silver (85.26; 89.19). The term *vālavijānī*, literally fan made of hair, seems to be synonymic with *cāmara*. When the Hair Relic had been brought to Ceylon, king Moggallāna I (496-513 A.D.) constructed a casket for it which he placed under a pillar-supported canopy, and he dedicated a *vālavijānī* to it, in order to make its royal dignity manifest (39.53). Besides the *cāmara* and the *chatta* a jewel-fan (*maṇi-tālavaṇṇa*), i.e.,

a fan decorated with jewels is mentioned among the royal insignia in a purely mythical passage (31.73).

(e) Ornaments worn by the king on solemn occasions also occur among the regalia, such as bracelets (*kaṭaka*—*Mhv.* 82.50, *vajiravalaya*—55.16), etc. The most precious ornament was apparently a chain of one string of pearls (*ekāvali*). It is noticeable that the same is mentioned in the Kauṭaliya Arthaśāstra II, 11.29 (transl. by *Shamasastri*, p. 87) in an enumeration of royal treasures. When Aggabodhi III was defeated by Dāṭhopatissa about the year 626 A.D. and forced to flee to Jambudvīpa, he left everything behind and took with him only the *ekāvali* by which to make himself known. King Aggabodhi IV, who was a devoted friend of the Buddhist community used that chain as rosary (*akṣhamālā*—46.17).

(f) A royal weapon was the unbreakable dagger (*acchijja-cchurikā*) mentioned in 55.16 immediately after the *vajiravalaya*. It was no doubt the dagger with which Kassapa I committed suicide by cutting his throat (39.27). This was also done by Jetṭhatissa III (44.112) who was wont to keep the dagger in his betel-bag. In the description of a similar scene the word *asiputtaka* is used instead of *churikā* (41.24).

(g) Together with the unbreakable dagger in 55.17 also *chinnapaṭṭikādhātu* is mentioned as belonging to the royal treasure. The word requires a few remarks. *Wijesinha* in his translation of the *Mahāvamsa* (II, p. 90) renders it as "sacred forehead band" and adds the note: "The term is of doubtful meaning, but it evidently refers to the fillet worn round the forehead." But this is impossible. The final word *dhātu* clearly points to some sacred relic and the first word of the compound *chinna* is incompatible with the idea of a fillet, for it means "cut off." Perhaps even the suffix in *paṭṭikā* should not be neglected: *paṭṭikā* is a small piece of cloth. I believe, therefore, that *chinnapaṭṭikādhātu* was a relic consisting in a torn piece of stuff from the Buddha's robe which was probably kept in a small costly case and worn by the king as a talisman.

24. In Ceylon as in the whole of India the king's vehicle was the *elephant*. The best elephant in the royal stables was the state-elephant (*maṅgala-hatthī* or *-dvīpo*). It was mounted by the ruler not only during festive processions (see above 22, 23b) but also in war (23c.) When Kassapa I and Jetṭhatissa III committed suicide in battle (22, 23f), they were riding on their elephants. A most heroic scene from ancient times is the single combat between Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and Eḷāra near the south gate of Anurādhapura, as it is described in *Mhvs.* 25.69-70. Both kings had mounted their elephants; that of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi was called Kaṇḍula, that of his adversary Mahāpavvata. Eḷāra hurled his dart first, but Gāmaṇi avoided it. He made his own elephant pierce his enemy's elephant with his tusks and hurled at the same time his dart at Eḷāra and Eḷāra fell with his elephant. The state-elephant was no doubt always a tusker of extra-ordinary size. As tuskers are very rare in Ceylon such animals were imported either from Burma or from India. Import of elephants from Burma, as we shall see below (29), is confirmed by the chronicle itself (*Mhvs.* 76.17).

There were also horses in the royal stables (70.265), and a state-horse (*maṅgalavājin*, *assa maṅgala*) is mentioned in the chronicle (22.52, 34.86). Prince Kassapa, the brother of king Sena I, was on horseback in a battle against the Daniḷas, and the swiftness of the noble steed was so great that the one horse looked as if it were a line of many steeds (50.26-28). The royal elephants were under the care of the elephant-keepers (*hatthipaka*) and the horses under that of the riding-masters (*turaṅgasādin*—88.34).

25. In mediaeval Ceylon, as everywhere in India the harem was an essential part of the royal court. There are several terms for harem in the Mahāvamsa: *antepuritthiyo*, i.e., palace women (14.46), *orodha* and *orodhajanā* (60.85), *itthāgārā* or in the plural *itthāgārā* (70.266; 72.302; 59.33). The last term may be compared with German *frauenzimmer*. The women of the harem were not only the king's retinue but also his concubines. It is expressly stated in 59.33 that none of king Vijayabāhu I's *itthāgārā* conceived a fruit of the

womb by the monarch. Only on the wives of equal birth, the queens, he begot children. Sons begotten on the *itthāgārā* had no right of succession.

The women of the royal seraglio were in constant attendance upon the king and they did their utmost to please him and to grow in his favour. Those of Vijayabāhu were emulating his attendants in amassing many merits in many ways (60.85). Without *orodha* the splendour of the royal court was defective. When Mānābharaṇa had overcome king Gajabāhu and taken possession of Pulatthinagara he fetched from Rohaṇa the sacred relics, tooth and bowl, his mother Sugalā and the whole of the harem (*saḷalaṃ itthāgāraṃ*—70.266), for he wished to show the people that he was now the legitimate ruler.

Chiefly on festive occasions the palace women were in the king's retinue. Ten years ago I was present in Djokjakarta, Isle of Java, at the celebration of one of the three anniversaries (*garabek*) in the Sultan's palace. When the Sultan entered the festival hall, he was followed by officials who carried the insignia, the umbrella, the fan made of peacock's feathers, the lance, *etc.*, and immediately after them came the women of the seraglio who, during the whole solemnity, were squatting on the side of and behind the Sultan's throne. A group of women had strong yellow paint on their necks and shoulders. On beholding the whole ceremony I could form a notion of a mediaeval Indian court-feast.

The Jāvaka king Candabhānu was accompanied by his harem even in war, for in the booty got by Vijayabāhu and Virabāhu after his defeat the loveliest women of his court (*orodhavarā*—*Mhvs.* 88.74) are mentioned besides the elephants and horses, many weapons and the entire treasure.

3. Royal duties.

26. In order to be able to fulfil his duties in the most perfect manner the king must know the precepts of political wisdom (*nīti*, *naya*). If he masters them he is worthy of the name of a clever statesman (*nayaññu*—*Mhvs.* 48.50; 58.1). The king is to reign according to the rules of statecraft (*yathā-*

ṇayam—48.96) without transgressing the precepts laid down for monarchs (*rājanīlīm avokkamma*—90.56). We have noticed above (para. 11) that the study of various works of *nīti* literature was included in the princely education. In the later part of the chronicle, which was composed by Dhammakitti's successor, Manu is recognised as the highest authority. Vijayabāhu II (1186-7A.D.) was an eminent ruler who did not depart from any precept of the political teaching of Manu (*Manunītikkaṃmaṃ kiṃci avokkamma*—80.9) and Parakkamabāhu II (1236-71 A.D.) is praised as versed in the ordinances of Manu (*Manunītivīsārado*—84.2).

Ten virtues (*dasā rājadhammā*—37.107; 52.43) are essential for a good ruler. They are not enumerated in the chronicle. It is supposed that they are well known to everybody. But they are specified in a Jātaka verse: giving of alms (*dāna*), leading a moral life (*sīla*), liberality (*pariccāga*), fair dealing (*ajjava*), gentleness (*maddava*), self-discipline (*tapo*), freedom from wrath (*akkoḍha*), mercy (*avihiṃsā*), patience (*khaṇṭi*), peaceableness (*avirodho*).—Jātaka, ed. by Fausböll, III. 274. The ten meritorious works (*dasā puñṇakriyā*, 37.180) are a similar list of royal virtues, or they are identical with *dasā rājadhammā*.

As a king is always menaced with ambushes of foes and rebels (*corā, dāmarikā*), he must try to gain the goodwill of his subjects by liberality (*dāna*), friendly speech (*peyyavajja*) beneficence (*atthacariyā*) and sociability (*samānattatā*). These are the four heartwinning qualities (*cattāri saṃgahavatthūni*—37.108; 52.43; 92.8) by which good rulers are distinguished.

27. Upon his officials the king used to confer distinctions in order to acquire ready and obedient followers or to show them his gratitude if they had successfully executed the royal orders. We meet in the chronicle with several terms, which are manifestly nothing but honorary titles, bestowed on the bearers by the king for public services. The system became more and more complex reaching a climax about the time of Parakkamabāhu the Great. One of these titles is *ṇesadhātu* or *ṇesadhātu-nāyaka*. It may have originated in the members of the order entrusted with the care of the

Hair Relic (*ṛesa-dhātu*). Later on this became a mere formality Parakkamabāhu conferred the title on his general Rakkha (*ṛesadhātu-padam datvā*—70.19) when he had subjugated some districts of the Malaya province, and to another of his generals (*adā ṛesadhātu-nāyakaṭṭam*—70.279) ere he began the war with his most powerful rival, Mānābharaṇa. The title of a *ṛesadhātu(-nāyaka)* first occurs in the 11th century (57.68). In the reign of Parakkamabāhu several officers or generals are mentioned who bore it (70.23, 66, 98; 72.2, 5, 7, 107; 76.253, 255, 269, 324). Later on it seems to have fallen into disuse.

It is sometimes impossible to say with certainty whether such a term is a mere title or the designation of an official post with peculiar duties. But this much seems to be very probable that all the compounds with *-giri*, *-gala* as second part and with *laṅkā-* as first part are honorary titles only. I refer to *nagaragalla* and *nagaragiri*. The former title was bestowed by Parakkamabāhu on his general Saṅkhadhātu (*nagaralla-padam datvā*—70.280). As *nagaragiris* are mentioned Mahinda, Nātha, Kitti (70.89, 146, 199; 70.318; 72.107; 76.60); the *nagaragiri* Gokaṇṇa was in the service of king Gajabāhu (66.35, 62; 70.68). Similar titles are *loṅgalla* (75.138), *niḷagiri* (70.137, 140, 142), *jitaḷgiri* (72.25), *māragiri* (72.11; 72.164, 174) and *laṅkāgiri* (72.27; 72.124-5; 76.250). Other compounds with *laṅkā-* are *laṅkādhināyaka* or *laṅkādhinātha* (70.24, 98) and *laṅkāpura* (72.39; 75.70; 76.250) in addition to *laṅkāgiri*. The title *laṅkādhikārin* was conferred on Kittti (*adā...laṅkādhikarittam*—70.278) who up to that time was a *saṅkhaḷaṇāyaka*.

A translation of these terms would hardly be appropriate. Generally the title is immediately joined to the personal name of its bearer, as for instance, Mahinda-nagaragiri or Rakkha-laṅkāpuro. If the person is mentioned before in the narration and therefore known to the reader, often the title alone is used. Frequently the phrases like "the laṅkāpura which is known as Kaḷakkuḷa" (*Kaḷakkuḷa-itti-ssuto laṅkāpuro*) or "the kesadhātu named Tamba" (*Tambavhaya ṛesadhātu*) are met with in the chronicle.

28. One of the principal duties of the king was the *diplomatic intercourse* with other people. He received the messengers sent to his court by foreign kings and he himself sent messengers to other courts. When in the 12th century the island of Ceylon was divided into three or four provinces and each of the provinces had its own ruler, there was a polite diplomatic intercourse between the courts, as long as the rulers were living in peace. Mānābharaṇa sent messengers to Pulatthinagara to bring king Vikkamabāhu the news of the birth of his son, Parakkamabāhu (*Mhvs.* 62.54). Later on Parakkamabāhu himself announced in the same manner the death of his uncle Kittisirimegha to king Gajabāhu in Pulatthinagara and to his cousin, the younger Mānābharaṇa, who was the ruler in Rohaṇa (67.95).

29. Of greater importance were the diplomatic relations with Rāmañña and with the Dravidian kingdoms in Southern India.

Rāmañña was the name of the province of Pegu in Southern Burma. Its inhabitants were, like those of Ceylon, Buddhists of the Theravāda school. Between the two countries there had never been a dissension up to the 12th century, and their monarchs were wont to send each other many costly gifts and in this way to maintain a friendly intercourse (*Mhvs.* 76.10 sq.). Vijayabāhu I (1059-1114 A.D.) sent envoys with various presents to the king of Rāmañña and received in return valuable gifts from him (58.60.) When in Ceylon the number of the *bhikkhus* had decreased so much that it became impossible to make the chapter full for the holding of the ecclesiastical ceremonies, the same king fetched from Rāmañña *bhikkhus* who were thoroughly versed in the Buddhist precepts and able to restore the Order which had declined in Laṅkā (60.4 sq.). It is well known that for the same purpose in the 18th century an embassy was sent to Siam by king Kittisirirājasiha. A chapter of *bhikkhus* arrived in Ceylon and established there the Siamese sect (Sir D. B. Jayatilaka, *Saraṇaṅkara, the last Saṅgha-Rāja of Ceylon*—p. 14 sq.). The Burmese sect in the Island is of a somewhat later origin.

The friendship between the two countries was severely disturbed in the 12th century when new regulations concerning the trade in elephants were introduced by the ruler of Rāmañña. These regulations were disadvantageous to the Ceylonese merchants. Moreover envoys sent by king Parakkamabāhu I were ill-treated and a princess who passed through Burma on her way to Kamboja was seized by force. Parakkamabāhu resolved to make war on the Rāmañña king. His troops having crossed the sea landed in two different ports and overthrew the hostile armies.

Such is the report of the chronicle (*Mhvs.* 76.10-68), but we do not know how far it is reliable. It is certainly much exaggerated. In the negotiations of peace which followed the campaign the community of *bhikkhus* is said to have acted as intermediaries. The former friendly relations were restored by king Vijayabāhu II (1186-7 A.D.). The king himself composed a letter in the Māgadha language which he sent to the ruler of Rāmañña and concluded a treaty with him, as Vijayabāhu I had done before (80.6-7).

30. Much more troubles were caused by the relations with the Dravidian kingdoms in Southern India. Those with the Pāṇḍus had generally a more friendly character than those with the Coḷas. According to a half legendary tradition the leader of the first Aryan immigrants, Vijaya, married a daughter of the Pāṇḍu king in Madhurā and his companions married maidens of the same race (*Mhvs.* 7.48 sq.). In the mediaeval period Mittā, the sister of Vijayabāhu I (see above para. 9), was given away in marriage to a Pāṇḍu prince, while the wooing of the Coḷa king was refused, because the Coḷa was not considered to be of equal birth. Later intermarriages between the royal families of the two countries are mentioned above (para. 9). On the other hand already in the 9th century the chronicle (50.12 sq.) gives an account of the incursion into the island of a Pāṇḍu army by which palaces and temples were plundered and destroyed and many treasures carried away to India. The war was brought to an end by a treaty concluded with the Sihala ruler by the envoys of the Pāṇḍu king.

Sometimes the Pāṇḍus when they were in conflict with the Coḷas sent messengers to the Sinhalese king or took refuge with him and requested his assistance, as it happened in the reign of Kassapa V (913-23 A.D.) and Dappula IV (*Mhvs.* 52.70 sq.; 53.5 sq.). In the 12th century the Pāṇḍu king *Parākrama* entreated the help of king Parakkamabāhu against Kulaśekhara. As it was always in keeping with the policy of the Sinhalese kings to support the Pāṇḍus in such conflicts Parakkamabāhu sent an army into Southern India. The campaign is amply described in the *Mahāvamsa* (76.86 sq.; 77.1-105), but the failure which overtook the expedition after the initial success is concealed by the chronicler. (Cf. Codrington, *Short History of Ceylon*, p. 62). At the end of the 13th century a Pāṇḍu army invaded Ceylon during a famine, took the stronghold Subhagiri and carried the Tooth Relic, which was kept there, away to India. The Sacred Relic was brought back to Ceylon by king Parakkamabāhu III (90.43 sq.; 51 sq.).

But the most dangerous enemies of the Sinhalese were the Coḷas. The history of Ceylon in ancient and mediaeval times is filled with accounts of bloody struggles between the Sihalas and the Coḷas, who invaded the island and devastated it. Already in the 2nd century B.C. Eḷāra came from the Coḷa country and occupied Anurādhapura. Similar events frequently occurred in later times. Often the northern provinces of the island were possessed by the Damiḷas whilst the Sihala kingdom was confined to Rohaṇa. Such was the state of things in the 10th and 11th centuries in the reigns of king Udaya IV (*Mhvs.* 53.42 sq.), of king Sena V (54.64 sq.) and of king Mahinda V (56.1 sq.). The last was even taken prisoner by the Coḷas and brought to India. About 1070 A.D. Vijayabāhu I succeeded in restoring the Sinhalese kingdom (58.59). But we know that it was the fear of the Coḷa invasions by which the Sinhalese kings were compelled to transfer their residence from Anurādhapura to Pulatthinagara and later on to such places as Jambuddoṇi in the south-western province. The chronicle tells us that the Kaṇṇāṭa and the Coḷa kings sent envoys with rich presents to king

Vijayabāhu's court. It is difficult to understand what the purpose of that embassy was and how it ended. But the messengers sent in return by the Sinhalese king to the court of the Coḷa king were ill-treated and mutilated. Vijayabāhu declared war, but was prevented from carrying out his plan by the mutiny of the Velakkāra mercenaries in Pulatthinagara (60.24 sq.).

In the 13th century the Pāṇḍus and Coḷas had again the opportunity of meddling with the Sinhalese affairs (80.43 sq.). But later on the relations had a different character. Buddhism was apparently flourishing in the Coḷa country, and *bhikkhus* betook themselves there from Ceylon or were summoned by Sinhalese rulers to return therefrom to the island (81.20 sq.; 84.9-10; 89.67).

The Terminal Stūpa of the Barabudur

By DR. J. PRZYLUSKI

Mr. Stutterheim's researches, continued by M. Mus, have brought to light the analogies which exist between the Barabudur, the mountain-temple of the Indian Cakravartin, and the Assyro-babylonian *ziggurat*. I have endeavoured recently to lend more precision to these analogies, and showed that all those monuments consist of three parts: the tower of Babylon had a subterranean base, seven stories, and a shrine on its top. Likewise, mount Meru, the prototype of the mountain-temple, has an invisible base surmounted by the mountain, which, in its turn, is crowned by the palace of the gods. Again, the Barabudur has a base concealed by a facing of masonry, seven terraces and a terminal stūpa.¹ The question which I would now like to examine is the following: which was the deity worshipped in the terminal stūpa of the Barabudur?

Theoretically, there is scarcely any doubt about the answer. On the summit of the cosmic mountain sits the king of the gods. The Cakravartin's palace is the image of the god's palace. The Barabudur, being both the cosmic and the royal mountain, the personage who sits on its top must be the summit of the religious and of the political hierarchy. Thus he must be at the same time the Cakravartin-Buddha, and the king-Cakravartin. We shall see that these politico-religious ideas, having spread to the distant boundaries of the Buddhist world, were given in the empire of the Śailendras, a special character.

Several Buddhist *sūtras*, translated into Chinese, bear a title which corresponds to *Brahmajāla-sūtra*. Here is the

¹ *Les sept terrasses du Barabudur*, article in the press in *HJAS* (*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*).

full title of one of them: "Part ten of the *Brahmajāla-sūtra* where the Buddha Vairocana declares the *cittaabhūmi* and the *śīla* of a Bodhisattva." This text belongs to the Vinaya category and has been partly edited and translated by De Groot in 1893.² We will call it by its Japanese title: "*Bommōkyō*." It was profoundly venerated in Japan. In A.D. 753, the *Bommōkyō* was read in all the more important temples.

"*Bommōkyō* doctrines," writes Prof. S. Elisseeff, "as well as Buddhist concepts in general profoundly influenced the political ideas of the Emperor Shōmu. This Japanese sovereign felt that the government should be organized in conformity with this Buddhist text, where it is said that Locana produces one thousand great Śākya, who are in their *nirmāṇa-kāya*; from each of these Śākyas come forth millions of small Śākyas, who simultaneously are preaching in all the millions of worlds. In this same way the Emperor occupies in Japan the supreme rank, corresponding to Locana Buddha; the Imperial will is transmitted to the thousand officials, who in the government organization can be considered representatives of the Emperor, as the thousand great Śākyas are of Locana. The subjects are compared to the millions of small Śākyas. That the Emperor Shōmu identified himself with the central deity is revealed by the fact that after the *Śīla-samādāna* ceremony he took the Buddhist name Jōmon which is nothing other than the Chinese translation of the Sanskrit name Locana. It was this sovereign who erected the Great Buddha and thus represented in sculpture a passage from the *Bommōkyō*."

"The casting of such a huge statue presented many technical difficulties and the statuary succeeded in their

2 De Groot, *Le Code du Mahāyāna en Chine*, in the *Verhand. der Konink. Akad. van Wetensch.*, Amsterdam, 1893; James R. Ware, *Notes on the Fan Wang Ching*, *HJAS*, I, 1, pp. 156-161; for a bibliography of the Japanese studies about this text, cf. S. Elisseeff, *The Bommōkyō and the Great Buddha of Tōdaiji*, *HJAS*, I, 1, p. 84, n. 3.

work only after eight attempts. It was finished in 749, but was not yet gilded. The Japanese authorities were anxious to find the precious metal in Japan itself in order to gild this great statue with national gold. At the beginning of the year 749 gold had been discovered in northern Japan. The Emperor Shōmu was extremely glad of this event and in the fourth month went to Tōdaiji accompanied by his family and many officials. This same year the Emperor Shōmu abdicated in order to devote himself to Buddhism.

.....“The Great Buddha is the Great Enlightened; he is the essence of Buddha in the Dharmadhātu (world).

.....“The text of the *Bommōkyō* says: ‘You, all Buddha’s children, hear me attentively; think well (about my words) and make your conduct conform to it. I have practised already for hundreds of innumerable *kālpas* the qualities (of Bodhisattvas) and the stages (of perfection), and taken them as my guide. At the beginning I abandoned the worldly (life) and attained *samyak-sambodhi*. I am called Locana. I dwell on the lotus throne which contains the worlds and oceans. [The grammar of this passage is obscure, but the Japanese engraver has understood it thus]. This throne is surrounded by one thousand petals. Each petal being a world, it makes one thousand worlds. I metamorphose myself producing one thousand Śākyas, conforming to the one thousand worlds. Further, on each petal which is a world there are a hundred million Sumerus, a hundred million suns and moons, a hundred million worlds each in four parts, a hundred million Jambudvīpas, a hundred million Bodhisattva-Śākyas, who are sitting under a hundred million *bodhi* trees, each of them preaching the qualities and stages of a Bodhisattva about which you have just inquired. Each Śākya of the remaining nine hundred and ninety-nine Śākyas produces thousands and hundreds of millions of Śākyas, who do the same. The Buddhas on the thousand petals are transformations of myself, and thousands and hundreds of millions of Śākyas are the transformations of these thousand Śākyas. I am their origin and my name is Locana Buddha.’

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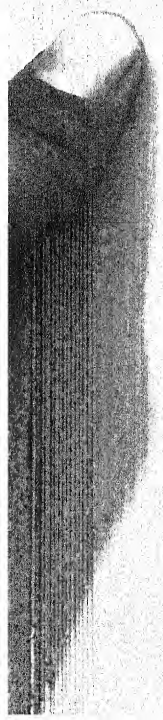
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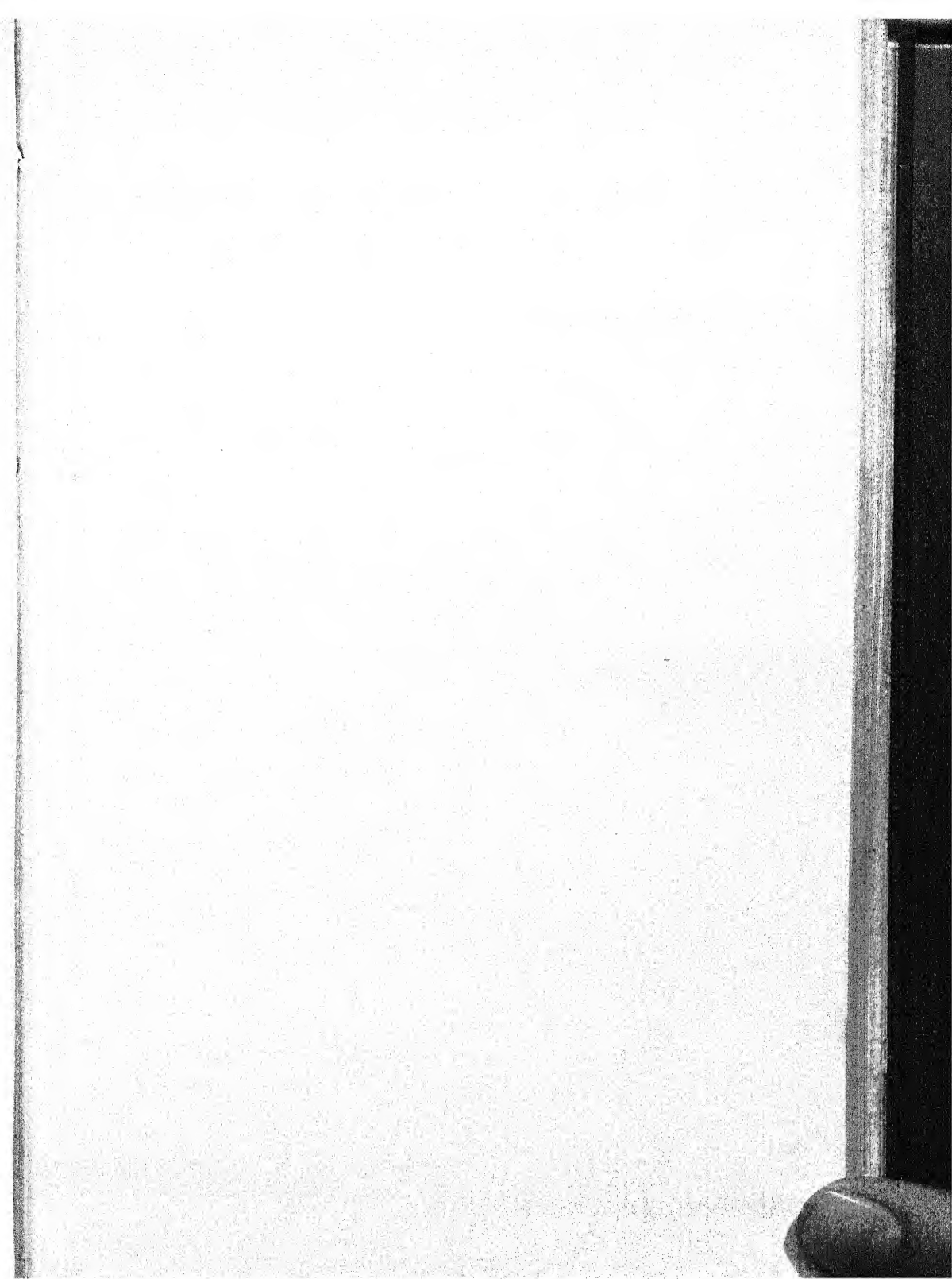
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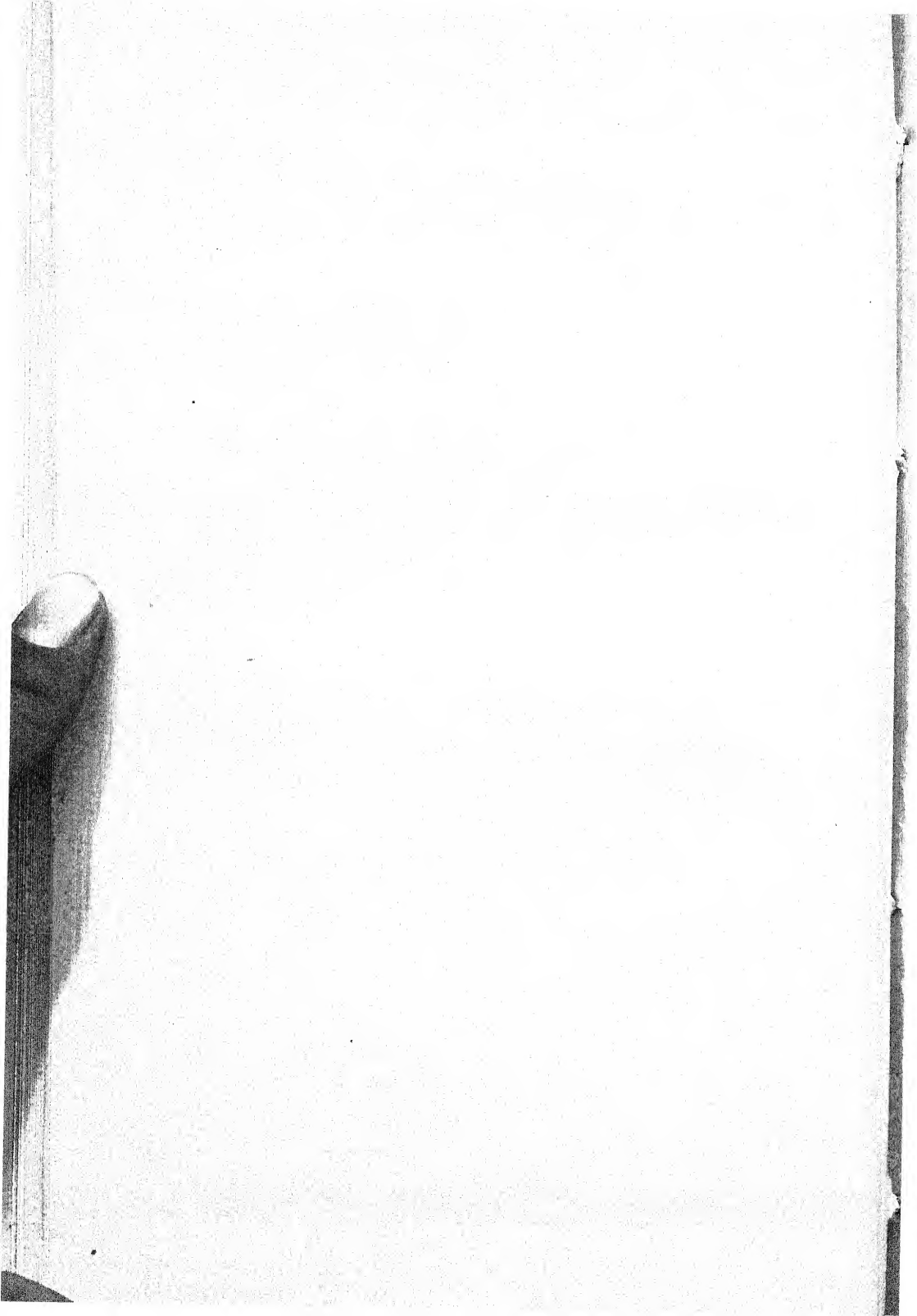
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"This great Buddha in the Tōdaiji is represented sitting on a lotus throne. On each petal of the lotus flower is represented one of the thousand great Śākyas who are the emanations of Locana."

On the upper part of the petal is engraved the picture of the Great Śākya, who is sitting on a throne and preaching. Under his throne is represented the Grand Chiliocosm. The engraver has depicted the *arūpyadhātu*, the *rūpadhātu* and the *kāmadhātu*. In the lowest part of the petal is engraved the Sumeru world with mount Sumeru in the middle. This mountain has four terraces. On the bottom of the petal is engraved a sea. The statue of the Great Buddha was inspired by the passage translated above from the *Bommōkyō*; the details on the petals, inspired by other *sūtras* and *śāstras*, are there to show the relation of the whole world from here below up to the Great Enlightened Deity.³

The whole monument proves that an exact symmetry reigned between the state organization and the religious cosmology in the Japanese Buddhism of the 8th century. The two organizations are correlative and this is why the emperor identifies himself with the central deity, taking the name of Locana.

In *Weltbild und Bauform Sudostasiens*, M. von Heinegeldern has noted the application of similar principles in the Indo-Chinese and Indonesian kingdoms. The Burmese look upon the *prāsāda* which roofs the throne-room at Mandalay as the centre of the world. It is to imitate Indra that the Indonesian and Indo-Chinese kings had thirty-two vassals, and it is probably in view of an assimilation with Sudarśana, the city of the gods, that the capital of the kingdom was sometimes provided with 32 doors which corresponded to the 32 divisions of the kingdom. As a matter of fact, the *Glass Palace-Chronicle of the kings of Burma* says that the city of Śrīkṣetra has been drawn by Indra after the model of

3 S. Elisseeff, *The Bommōkyō and the Great Buddha of Tōdaiji*, *HJAS*, I, 1, pp. 88-95.

Sudarśana.⁴ In Burma, the king and his 32 vassals identify themselves with Indra, chief of the group of the Thirty-three gods, just as in Japan the emperor, surrounded by his dignitaries, identifies himself with Locana in the middle of the 1,000 Great Śākyas.

The Chinese messenger Tcheou Ta-kouan, speaking of the Bayon which is in the centre of Angkor, the capital of the old Cambodia, said: "To mark the centre of the kingdom there is a gold tower, surrounded by more than twenty stone towers."⁵ The Bayon, then, must have been, to use Heine-geldern's own expression, the magical centre of the kingdom." Erected in the centre of Angkor, this temple is made of some fifty towers, linked together by galleries. Each tower bears, looking towards each point of the compass, four big stone faces crowned by diadems. In the ground of the big tower, the idol which was worshipped in the centre of the Bayon, has been found: a Buddha three meters high, in which M. Chodès recognizes the image of the Devarāja, that is to say, of the God-King. In the Śivite sanctuaries, the Devarāja was the great *liṅga* of the kingdom; worshipped in the central temple of the capital, he personified both the king of the gods and the king of men. In the Bayon, the central temple of Angkor, the Devarāja is personified by the great statue of the Buddha, venerated in the great central tower. In this image, both the Great Enlightened and the sovereign of Cambodia are represented. As to the stone faces which adorn the fifty towers, epigraphy tells us that they stand for a whole pantheon of deities, Brahmanical as well as Buddhist: Viṣṇu, Śiva, Pārvatī, the Medicine Buddha, the Lion of the Śākyas.⁶

4 Pe Maung Tin and Luce, *Glass Palace Chronicle*, Oxford, 1932, pp. 14-15; Heine-Geldern, *Weltbild und Bauform*, pp. 45 ff. P. Mus, *Barabudur*, BEFEO, 33, pp. 701 ff.

5 P. Pelliot, *Mémoire sur les coutumes du Cambodge*, BEFEO, 2, p. 142.

6 G. Chodès, *Notice archéologique du Bayon*, in Dufour-Carpeaux, *Le Bayon d'Angkor-Thom*, Paris, 1914, t. II, p. 30.

In a recent communication to the Academy of Inscriptions, M. P. Mus, having exposed those facts, proposed a clever explanation for them. "Four faces," says M. Mus, "resume space entirely because they mark the four principal directions.....", "Brahmā does not possess four heads, his face is just one and it can be seen from everywhere. Four orients are the whole of space. Four faces are the symbol of a power which reigns over space." And M. Mus adds that the Great Buddhist Miracle proceeds in a large way from similar ideas. He quotes a part of the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* where the Buddha of the Great Miracle is compared to Brahmā. "He is like the Great King Brahmā, who rests in his palace of the Brahma world, whilst everywhere, in the numberless thousands of worlds, bodies of Brahmā can yet be seen."⁷

M. Mus concludes that when the architect represented a four-faced personage on the Bayon towers, he wanted to figure "the royal power blessing the four orients of the country." But why, then, this multiplicity of gods who are worshipped in the Bayon towers? We know that Jayavarman VII, who built the temple, "bore a special reverence to the Bodhisattva Lokeśvara, *alias* Avalokiteśvara. Now, the *Lotus of the Good Law*, a fundamental text, endows this personage with a faculty to assume all kinds of shapes, so that he may gather knowledge and save the creatures. He shall borrow, whenever it is useful, the features of a Buddha. But there is a particle of Truth, a primitive impulse towards Good in every cult, and Avalokiteśvara shall be, according to his will, either a great or a middle or a small Brahmanic god..... Appearing to each man under the exact shape of the god whom he worships and One, however, under this diversity, does not Lokeśvara deserve fully the name of *Samantamukha*, 'face everywhere', given to him by the book, and which is inspired by the power formerly ascribed to Brahmā?.....It is because he has a part in the *dharmakāya* that Lokeśvara enjoys his transcendental powers. Jayavar-

7 *Taishho Issaikyo*, no. 278, Vol. IX, p. 618b.

man wants to associate with him. Together with Lokeśvara, in Lokeśvara, in every place where his subjects adore a god, at Vajrapura, at Chok Gargyar, the king is this god. In the whole universe, Lokeśvara,—over entire Cambodia, Jayavarman,—the Bodhisattva and the king are equally 'face everywhere'. And if the monument, by the disposition of its shrines, is like a positive map of the country, it is only to the scope of illustrating, and perhaps of contributing to assure magically, the penetration of the king's subtle essence all over the kingdom."⁸

These conclusions are illuminating. One point only is open to a slight criticism. If Lokeśvara assumes the shape of a Brahmanical god as well as that of a Buddha, it is not because "there is a particle of truth" in the Brahmanic religion as in the Buddhist, but rather because Indian gods are Brahmanic and Buddhist at the same time. In all periods, and more particularly in that of the Mahāyāna, Buddhism is a syncretism where the Brahmanic mythology comes in for an important part. This is why Lokeśvara, who has so many points in common with Śiva, is the king of the gods like him, or rather each god is just another shape of Śiva-Lokeśvara.

We are, now, in a much better position to understand the Buddhology of the Barabudur, because the religion which finds its expression in this monument, is also a syncretism where Śivaism and Mahāyānist Buddhism are mingled together. The three upper terraces of the Barabudur bear, as we have said, 72 small *stūpas*, with a 73rd and bigger *stūpa* in the middle. The identities of the personages carved in these *stūpas* have been much discussed. According to Dr. Krom, above the five Dhyāni-buddhas which are seen on the square terraces, it is their chief, Vajrasattva=Vajradhara, who was worshipped in the *stūpa* of the circular terraces. This opinion has been criticized by M. Mus. The

8 P. Mus, *Le symbolism à Angkor-Thom: le "Grand Miracle" du Bayon*, in *Compte rendu de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, sitting of the 21st February, 1936.

latter objects that Vajrasattva, the chief of the five Dhyāni-buddhas, does not appear in the older layer of the redaction of the *Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan*. He comes in the more recent layer of this treatise only, and not, even then, as a sixth Dhyāni-buddha, but as a substitute for Akṣobhya.⁹ Besides, M. Toganoo believes that the Buddha of the terminal *stūpa* of the Barabuđur is Akṣobhya, and for him the *Buddhas* of the 72 small *stūpas* are Vairocana, and the symbols of the 72 *tāntric guṇas*.¹⁰

Does it seem possible to offer a solution which would comply with the suggestions and the criticisms of the three archaeologists? We must not forget that there is a close link between Akṣobhya and Vajrasattva: on the crown worn by the latter, there is a face of Akṣobhya. Vajrasattva is one of the shapes of Akṣobhya: he is Akṣobhya in his *saṃbhoga-kāya*.¹¹ It will no doubt be admitted that the Buddha of the terminal *stūpa*, like the Great Buddha of Tōdaiji, is the Great Enlightened, the essence of the Dharmadhātu, prefiguration of the Ādibuddha of Nepal. Under what name was he venerated at the Barabuđur? He may have been known as Akṣobhya by some of the faithful. If the terminal *stūpa* contained Akṣobhya in his *dharmakāya*, the Buddha of the 72 smaller *stūpas* would be Akṣobhya in his *saṃbhogakāya*.

The names of the personages, however, are here of minor consequence. The main point is to admit that the Buddhas of the 72 small *stūpas* are the manifestations of the same essence which has its symbol in the Buddha of the terminal *stūpa*. And this brings us back to the symbolism of the Tōdaiji and of the Bayon, but at the Barabuđur, the symbolism is more complex and announces already the Ādibuddha system of Nepal, for at Barabuđur the essence of the *dharmadhātu* is shown under three hypostasis: the Buddha of the terminal *stūpa*, the Buddha of the 72 small

9 P. Mus, *ibid.*, pp. 350-351.

10 See Report by M. Demieville in *Bibliographie bouddhique* V, no. 450.

11 P. Mus, *ibid.*, p. 351.

stūpas and those of the square terraces. These three hypostasis remind us not only of the three *kāyas* of the Buddha, but not the system of Nepal also: Ādibuddha, Dhyāni-buddha, Mānusi-buddha.

Before we proceed any further in our study of the similitudes between the several systems, it is necessary to examine an evident difference. At the Tōdaiji, the Great Śākyas which surround the central Buddha are 1000 in number. In Burma, the number which defines the royal and divine court is 33 ($1+32$). At the Bayon, there are some fifty towers. At Barabudūr, the symbolical number is 73 ($1+72$).

For Mr. Toganoo, this last number is explained by the fact that there are 72 *tāntric guṇas*. But this number may also have been suggested by iconography, or in regard to architectural symmetry. Two explanations offer themselves, not at all irreconcilable.

The three circular terraces of the Barabudūr may be seen from four sides, as the basis of the monument is a pyramid. The terraces becoming smaller and smaller, the little *stūpa* that could be placed upon them had to get fewer in number: eight on the lower terrace, six on the middle one, four on the upper terrace, that is $8+6+4=18$ for each side, and a total of $18 \times 4 = 72$. The reason of an architectural symmetry might then account for the number 72.

Besides, at the beginning of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkā*, a ray of light issues from the circle of hair which grew between the Bhagabat's eyebrows. This ray is directed towards the 18,000 countries of the Buddha situated on the east.¹² 18,000 countries for one of the four orients make a total of 72,000 countries of the Buddha. The disposition, at the Barabudūr, of the 72 small *stūpas* around the terminal *stūpa* is identical with that of the 72,000 countries of the universe around the centre of the world. It seems likely that the architect, not being able to represent the 72,000 Buddhas who reside in the 72,000 countries, has satisfied himself by putting in 72 only,

¹² *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkā*, f. 4b., cf. transl. by Burnouf, p. 4.

in order to suit both convenience and symmetry. 72 and 72,000 are just conventional numbers, chosen to give an idea of the numberless manifestations of the Great Enlightened. Likewise, when the sculptures show Avalokiteśvara with forty arms, when the texts call him Avalokiteśvara of the thousand arms, 40 and 1000 are conventional numbers again, designed to mark the numerous activities of the god.¹³

Whether he has 33 shapes as in Burma, 50 shapes as at the Bayon, 73 as we see at the Barabudur or 1001 as at the Tōdaiji, the essence of the *dharmadhātu* is always the Great One and Only which fills up the universe. At Java, as in Indo-China, as in Japan, the sovereign identifies himself with him. That is why in the empire of the Śailendras, the name Śailendra belongs to both the king and the king of the gods. Śailendra then, could mean not only the dynasty, but Śiva-Buddha also, who was the highest entity in the Javanese religion. We know enough now to engage upon the study of an obscure question. Which was the statue contained in the terminal *stūpa* of the Barabudur?

The point is a strongly contested one. The first European visitors have not seen anything below the terminal *stūpa*, all blocked up by scattered fragments. In 1842, Resident Hartmann ordered excavations to be made, no authentic report of which has reached us, and an unfinished statue of Buddha would have been discovered then in the ruins. M. Foucher has proposed to recognize in this statue a reproduction of the famous one seen by Hiuan-tsang on the actual place of the Bodhi.¹⁴ This statue, which showed Śākyamuṇi in the moment of the Māravijaya, was also an unfinished statue. On the contrary, Dr. Krom thinks that originally the *stūpa* contained no image whatever, and that some relics had only been put there. Dr. Stutterheim believes that the *stūpa* contained the unfinished statue of a supreme and bodiless Buddha. M. Mus does not see that

13 About the statues of Avalokiteśvara, the thousand arms of which are customarily represented by forty, cf. Waley, *A Catalogue of paintings recovered from Tun huang* by Sir A. Stein, p. 31.

14 *The unfinished Buddha of the Boro-Budur*, BEFEO, t. 3, pp. 78-80.

the identification proposed by M. Foucher should be damaged radically by Dr. Krom's objection.¹⁵

In short, the authors hesitate between two hypotheses: (1) there was no statue at all in the terminal *stūpa*, (2) there was an unfinished statue, the same which Dr. Krom describes as a "rough lump, thicker at one side than the other." Both hypotheses seem hardly likely. I wish to be allowed the suggestion of a third one.

According to Indian tradition, mount Meru is a mountain of gold. In the inscriptions of Cambodia the royal mount is of gold also. The central tower of the Bayon is called by Tcheou ta kouan, the gold tower. The ideas of gold and the cosmic mountain are closely bound together. As it was impossible to make a real gold mountain, would not the idea have arisen of replacing it by a lump of gold, placed at the centre of the world? Let us recall to mind the importance of the gold coating on the great statue of the Tōdaiji. The Japanese authorities were anxious to find the precious metal in Japan. National gold was necessary in order to realize the mystical union of the empire with the Great Enlightened. It was desirable, then, that there should be in the centre of the empire a statue of gold, or at least of gilded bronze, because it was the point wherefrom the power radiates which creates the cosmic and the social order.

This theory finds its confirmation in a Chinese text relative to the empire of San-fo-ts'i. It is extracted from the *Chu fan Chi* of Chau Ju-kua written in 1226. "There is an idol (literally "a Buddha") which is called the idol of the Mountain of Gold and Silver. Its statue is cast in gold. Each king just before mounting the throne, causes his own image to be cast in gold to replace that statue. Vases and plates of gold are made and solemn homage is paid to that image. The golden statue, the vases and plates, all of them bear inscriptions so that the future generations may not destroy them."¹⁶ The Mountain of Gold and Silver could

¹⁵ Statement of the controversy in P. Mus, *Barabudur*, t. 32, pp. 344 ff.

¹⁶ Bibliography and discussion relative to this quotation in *JG/S.*, II, 1, pp. 35-36.

only be the cosmic mountain, or its replica. The emperor being identified with the king of the gods must be enthroned on the cosmic mountain: that is why his golden statue is placed on the top of it and he is worshipped there. What Chau Ju-kua writes in 1226 about the king of San-fo-ts'i, alludes to politico-religious concepts which lie at the origin of the Barabuđur. Then it is likely that the statue placed in the terminal *stūpa* was a gold statue, and this might suffice to account for its disappearance.

Besides, some narrations, the origins of which are not certain, accuse Resident Hartmann of having found a little gold statue in the *stūpa*, and of having stolen it: he would have put the big unfinished statue at the same place in order to divert suspicion.¹⁷ This is not the place to judge Resident Hartmann for such an accusation. But it not infrequently happens that some such legend hundreds of years old is ascribed much later to a recent date. This explains how some old traditions relative to the theft of the statue may have been put down finally to the credit of the 1842 excavations.

In short the Barabuđur is a reduction of the cosmic mountain surmounted by 73 *stūpas*. Consequently, it is difficult to look upon it as only a *stūpa*. At any rate it is widely different from the old Indian *stūpa*. It is an imperial construction designed, like the Great Buddha of Tōdaiji, to seal the mystical union of the empire and of the universe. The emperor, king of the mounts (Śailendra), identifies himself with the supreme deity in the central *stūpa*. This Devarāja is at the same time Akṣobhya, Bhaṭṭāra Buddha and Śiva-Buddha. Under which one of those names was he more generally adored? It is impossible to tell. But we must refrain from simplifying the Barabuđur. The central deity must have been conceived in a different way by the initiated and by the humble subjects of the kingdom. It is permissible to suppose that different names corresponded to the different concepts.

17 Cf. P. Mus, *Barabuđur*, t. 32, p. 346.

Kunjarakunjadēśa of the Changgal Inscription

By Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra

It is now over half a century since the stone inscription of king Sañjaya was discovered at Changgal, Central Java, and first published by the famous Dutch Indologist, Prof. H. Kern.¹ It has since been further commented upon on various occasions. The epigraph is fairly well preserved, except that the slab has chipped off at a few places, causing short gaps in some lines of the writing. While the main purport of the record, namely the establishment of a *śivaliṅga* by king Sañjaya, is clear, the lacunae in the text have given rise to some controversy over certain points of historic import.

I have elsewhere² had occasion to point out a few changes in Prof. Kern's reading, which might necessitate a modification in the generally accepted interpretation of this document. In the present paper, I draw attention to one such alteration.

Verse 7 of the inscription describes the island of Java (*yavadvīpa*).³ In the second *pāda*, two or three syllables have been lost. Consequently the sense of that portion is not clear. In the third quarter, while some three *aṅśaras* are likewise missing, some others have been blurred. Still Prof. Kern has deciphered that part. His reading is: *Śrīmat-*

1 *Bijdragen*, deel 10, 1885, with a facsimile; *Verspr. Geschr.* deel 7, pp. 115-128.

2 *JASB (Letters)*, Vol. I, 1935, pp. 34-37, with a photographic reproduction of the inscription.

3 The following is the text given by Prof. Kern :

आसीद् द्वीपवरं यवाद्यमनुलन्धा(न्या)दिवीजाधिकं
सम्पन्नं कनकाकरैस्तदमरै — — दिनोपाजितम् [१*]
श्रीमत्कुञ्जरकुञ्जदेशनिहि[तव]ड् शादितीवावृतं
स्थानन्दिव्यतमं शिवाय जगतरश्मभोस्तु यवाद्भुतम् ॥

kuñjarakuñjadeśa-nihi[ta]ñśāditivādhṛtam. It is this line that we are to discuss here.

It may be shown that the latter half of the above reading is hardly tenable. First the word *nihita* does not very well suit the supposed sense. Besides, the metre requires a long syllable where a simple [ta] has been suggested. The next conjecture [va]ñśād is equally unconvincing. Even if we accept it as right, the following *iti* is inexplicable. The succeeding *iva* likewise does not strike us as quite appropriate. Finally the word *ādhṛtam* has little sense. It is not met with in any Sanskrit work, though it can be conceived to possess a derivative sense of the word *ādhāra*. It will, however, be seen that Prof. Kern has taken this *ādhṛtam* to be an equivalent of *āhṛtam*.

Nevertheless, the above reading has passed as final, and on its interpretation various inferences have been based, which must necessarily be wrong, if the very text is incorrect.

In accordance with his reading, Prof. Kern translates the passage as follows: "and brought over from the <<race>>, as one calls it, established in the blessed land *Kuñjarakuñjadeśa*."⁴

This phrase has thus been understood to qualify the Śiva sanctuary (*śambhoḥ sthānam*) mentioned in the last quarter of the verse. Prof. Krom, while commenting upon this, points out that it is impossible to have transported an entire temple from a distant land, as the above translation would suggest. He passes over this difficulty by taking into account the word *iva* which Prof. Kern seems to have left untranslated.⁵ His explanation is thus: "as if it were brought over" as against Prof. Kern's "brought over." In this way Prof. Krom concludes that the Śiva temple of Java was not literal-

4 The original Dutch being "(en) overgebracht van den in't gezegende land *Kuñjarakuñjadeśa* gevestigden <stam>, gelijk men het noemt."

5 Or perhaps Prof. Kern's "as one calls it" (gelijk men het noemt) answers to *itva* rather than to *iti* only.

ly imported from *Kuñjarakuñjadesa*, but was modelled upon one then existing in that land.⁶

This question of a Śiva sanctuary being "brought over" has, on the other hand, suggested to Dr. Bosch⁷ another idea. He sees an analogy between the Devarāja cult of Kambodia, a similar tradition in Campā and the present instance in Java. He thinks that there is a close connexion between Śiva, his *liṅga*, the ruling dynasty and a priest. The king represents Śiva and his majesty the *liṅga*, while the priest plays the part of a mediator who receives the primeval *liṅga* and hands it over to the founder of the dynasty as a palladium. Dr. Bosch supposes Agastya to be the priest in the case of king Sañjaya.

While in Holland during the years 1931-34, I had occasion to examine a photograph and a few estampages of the Changal inscription at the Kern Institute, Leyden. I read the passage in question as follows: *Śrīmatkuñjara-kuñjadesāni* — — — *ṅgādītīrthāṣṭam*. This sounds, no doubt, absolutely different from what Prof. Kern has read. Still I venture to offer what I read from the impressions, and I remember Prof. Vogel agreed with my reading. I do not hazard filling the blank for three syllables. Seeing *ṅgādītīrthā*°, however, one feels tempted to supply a *ga* before it and read *Gaṅgādītīrthāṣṭam*. And this is not impossible, considering that the word *gaṅgā* has been used to indicate any holy river as well as the Ganges, the well-known Bhāgīrathī. The *akṣara* after *ni* has been read as *hi*, whereas to me it looks more like *si* or *pi*. The next syllable has totally disappeared.

The altered reading would yield quite a different sense, namely: "surrounded by the holy places, Gaṅgā and so forth." And if this is accepted, then neither Prof. Krom's explanation nor Dr. Bosch's inference would prevail any longer.

6 N. J. Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 2nd edition, the Hague, 1931, p. 124.

7 *Ibid.*, and *Tijdschrift*, deel 64, 1925, pp. 236 ff. and 271 ff.

In my opinion, the above clause has to be taken to qualify *yavadvīpam* "the Island of Java" rather than *śambhoḥ sthānam* "the Śiva sanctuary" of the verse. In this case the word *āvṛtam* may better be rendered by "studded with" or "abounding in."

It will, however, remain obscure, in what relation the foregoing *Śrīmatkuñjaraḥkuñjadeśa* stands unless and until the succeeding three *aḥṣaras* be properly restored. Probably the missing word was one indicating comparison. On this surmise we may explain the passage thus: "(the excellent island of Java was) as abounding in holy places like Gaṅgā and so forth, as the blessed land of Kuñjarakuñja."

It may be noted that Dr. Bosch brought in Agastya, even though the Chungal inscription makes no mention of this sage. However, his association has been sought through the occurrence of *Kuñjaraḥkuñjadeśa*. Prof. Kern, by way of identification, referred to the *Kuñjara* or *Kuñjaradāri* of the *Harivaṃśa* (st. 12393). This is, as has been pointed out by Prof. Kern, a region somewhere in South India, where there are a mountain created by Śiva and the abode of the sage Agastya. It may be observed that the worship of Agastya has been as popular in Java as in South India. This fact strongly favours Prof. Kern's identification.

Kuñjaradāri has later been located on the boundary of the Travancore State and the Tinnevely district in the extreme south of India, on the authority of the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (XIV, 16).⁸

According to Messrs. Gangoly and Przyluski, *Kuñjaraḥkuñjadeśa* is "a sacred site in Southern India on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra."⁹

8 Cf. N. J. Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 2nd edition, the Hague, 1931, p. 125.

9 See above, Vol. II, p. 35; cf. O. C. Gangoly, *The Art of Java*, p. 4. Mr. Lakshminarayan Rao has kindly directed my attention to Ānegondi, once the capital of Vijayanagara kings, at present the headquarters of a Zamindari owing allegiance to the Nizam of Hyderabad, situated on the north bank of the river Tuṅgabhadra. In some Sanskrit inscriptions of the 14th century this place is called *Kuñjarakoṇa*, a literal rendering of

Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, however, supports the former view and opposes the latter, arguing that "the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* locates the Kuñjaradarī along with the Tāmraparṇī."¹⁰

In fact the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* does not locate any country, but gives, in six stanzas (XIV, 11-16), a jumbled list of the regions of South India. The statement: *Kaccho'tha Kuñjaradarī sa-Tāmraparṇī vijñeyāḥ*, does not, therefore, necessarily indicate that *Kuñjaradarī* is situated between *Kaccha* and *Tāmraparṇī*. While this last mentioned refers to the well-known river of that name in the Tinnevely district, no place is known as *Kaccha* in the same vicinity. We know of one *Kaccha* (Cutch) which is in the Bombay Presidency, to the north-west of Gujarat.

Bhaṭṭa Utpala, in his commentary *Vīrti* on the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, quotes Parāśara who has drawn up a similar list of the countries, peoples, mountains and rivers of South India. This list is in prose and follows a different order of enumeration, yet not the successive. Here *Kaccha* is followed by *Bharuḥaccha* and *Tāmraparṇa* by *Nārmada*, while *Kuñjaradarī* stands between *Sūrpapārvata* and *Sambhogavati*¹¹

The same commentator explains *Kuñjaradarī* by *Hastikhaṇḍā*. This shows that the territory might have been known under other equivalent names as well. On this ground the whole range of "the Ānaimalais, or elephant hills, which extend from the Coimbatore district southward into Travancore"¹² comes into consideration. The word 'Ānaimalai' is Tamil as well as Kanarese and is an equivalent of the Sanskrit *Kuñjarapārvata*. In the Sanskrit literature, however, this range goes under the name of *Malayagiri*. Ptolemy calls it *Bettigo*.¹³ "In the southern portion of the

the Kanarese Ānegondi. Cf. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. X, p. 299; A collection of the inscriptions on copper-plates and stones in the Nellore District, Madras, pt. 1, p. 120; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVIII, 1909, p. 89.

10 *Tijdschrift*, deel LXXV, 1935, p. 611.

11 Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series, No. 12, *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, with the commentary of Bhaṭṭotpala, edited by Mm. Sudhakara Dvivedi, Benares, 1895, p. 289.

ghāts is the conical peak called Agastyamalai (6,200 feet), where the sage Agastya Maharshi, who is regarded as the pioneer of Aryan civilisation in Southern India, is supposed still to live as a Yogī in pious seclusion."¹² The Tamil term Podigei or Pothigei denotes the same peak.¹³ "The *Tāmrparṇī* river rises on the slopes of Agastyamalai, and reaches the plains of the Tinnevely district by the falls of *Pāpanāśam*..... This is a very sacred spot, with a Śaivite temple, and is visited by large numbers of pilgrims."¹⁴

It may now be shown that the summit Agastyamalai is the same as *Kuñjaraparvata*. Among the different meanings assigned to the word *Kuñjara*, one finds the following in the *Śabdakālpadruma*: "*deśabhedah/ iti Śabdaratnāvalī/ (parvataviśeṣah/ yathā Goḥ Rāmāyaṇe, IV, 41, 50: "tataḥ Śaṅgradhvajākāraḥ Kuñjaro nāma parvataḥ/ Agastya-bhavanaṃ tatra nirṃmitaṃ Viśvakarmmaṇā"*)."

I have had no access to the original sources quoted here; still it will be seen that the details given in the above stanza remarkably coincide with Mr. Thurston's foregoing description of the Agastyamalai.

The Bombay edition of Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* (IV, 41, 34-36) gives a slightly variant reading.¹⁵ The commentary on the verse 35 points out that this *Agastya-bhavana* on the *Kuñjaraparvata* is the third place associated with Agastya, as occurring in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. As regards the other two,

12 E. Thurston, *The Madras Presidency*, Cambridge, 1914, p. 18.

13 McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, edited by S. N. Majumdar Sastri Calcutta, 1927, p. 78; Nundo Lal Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, 2nd edition, 1927, p. 122, under *Malaya-Giri*.

14 E. Thurston, *The Madras Presidency*, Cambridge, 1914, p. 130.

15 *The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki with the commentary (Tilaka) of Rāma*, 4th edition, Nirṇaya Sagar Press, Bombay, 1930, IV, 41, 34-36:

तत्र नेत्रमनःकान्तः कुञ्जरो नाम पर्वतः ॥३४॥

अगस्त्यभवनं यत्र निर्मितं विश्वकर्मणा ।

तत्र योजनविस्तारमुच्छ्रितं दशयोजनम् ॥३५॥

शरणं काञ्चनं दिव्यं नानारत्नविभूषितम् ।

one is a little to the south of *Pañcavatī*, the modern Nasik, not far from the source of the river Godāvarī,¹⁶ while the other may be somewhere on the mount Malaya, near the Kāverī river.¹⁷

It may be remembered that in the *Rāmāyaṇa* different countries are mentioned on the occasion when Sugrīva sends out monkeys in all directions in quest of Sītā. One may, therefore, expect that the narrative follows the successive order of the regions mentioned. This, however, does not seem to be the case. It may be seen that Agastya occurs twice in the same chapter, once on the mount *Malaya*, and for the second time on the *Kuñjaraparvata* as stated above. The former is followed immediately by a description of the river *Tāmraparṇī*,¹⁸ while the latter by that of the city *Bhogavati*.¹⁹ This last is apparently identical with the *Sambhogavati* of Parāśara's list. Moreover it appears from the *Rāmāyaṇa* that the *Kuñjaraparvata* was situated somewhere in the ocean, beyond Rāvaṇa's country.²⁰

16 Most probably it is the same as the modern *Agastipurī*, twenty-four miles to the south-east of Nasik. Cf. Nundo Lal Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, 2nd edition, 1927, p. 217. Rāma's visit to this hermitage of Agastya is described in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, III, chs. 11-13.

17 Cf. the *Rāmāyaṇa*, IV, 41, 15-16 :

तत्र द्रक्ष्यथ कावेरीं विहृतामप्सरोगणैः ।
तस्यासीनं नगस्याग्रे मलयस्य महौजसः ॥१५॥
द्रक्ष्यथादित्यसंकाशमगस्त्यमृषिसत्तमम् ।

18 *Ibid.*, IV, 41, 16-18 :

ततस्तेनाभ्यनुज्ञाताः प्रसन्नेन महात्मना ॥ १५ ॥
तान्नपणीं प्राहृजुष्टां तरिष्यथ महानदीम् ।
सचन्दनवनैश्चित्रैः प्रच्छन्नद्वीपचारिणी ॥१६॥
कान्तेन युवतीकान्तं समुद्रमवगाहते । etc.

19 *Ibid.*, IV, 41, 36-38 :

तत्र भोगवती नाम सर्पाणामालयः पुरी ॥३६॥ etc.

20 This is, however, not mentioned by the name *Lankā* or any other : but only by the term *doṭpa*. *Ibid.*, IV, 41, 23.

Leaving the discrepancy in the *Rāmāyaṇa* out of consideration, we may conclude that the modern peak Agastya-malai is the ancient *Kuñjaraparvata*, that the country on its slopes along the river *Tāmraparṇī* is identical with the *Kuñjaradārī* and the *Kuñjarakuñjadeśa*, and that the people of that territory might have gone to Java by the 7th and 8th centuries A.D.

Veda and Avesta

By Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh

[Contd. from Vol. II, No. 2.]

Both in Skt. and Avestan an Indo-European *s* undergoes a similar transformation after *i*, *u*, *r* and gutturals. It appears that already in the pre-Indo-Iranian age the Indo-European *s* in these positions had become an *š*-sound, the exact nature of which cannot be determined. In Skt. this *š*-sound further changed into cerebral *ṣ*. The Indo-European superlative suffix *-isto* appears as *-iṣṭ(h)a* in Skt. and *-išta* in Avestan. The sibilant of this suffix is the same as that in the comparative ending *-yas-* which appears both in Skt. and Avestan. The transformation of the dental *s* into *ṣ* in Skt. and *š* in Avestan is therefore clearly due to its position after *i*. The suffix *-su* in Loc. pl. shows a dental *s* after *ā* but after *i* and *u* it is invariably *-ṣu* in Skt. and *-šu* in Avestan, cf. Skt. *agnī-ṣu*, *aktú-ṣu* and Av. *xšaṇri-šu*, *vaŋhu-šu*. The same change of *s* may be observed in both the dialects also after *r* and *k*, cf. Skt. *tṛṣṇā*, Av. *taršnō* : Goth. *þaursjan*; Skt. *ukṣitá*, Av. *uxšeiti* : Gr. *auxánō*.

This characteristic of Skt. and Avestan is however shared also by the Balto-Slavic languages, for in the original Balto-Slavic too the Indo-European *s* seems to have become an *š*-sound in similar positions. The transformation of *s* into *š* after *i* out of Indo-European *ə* may however be regarded as a peculiar feature of Indo-Iranian alone; even in the Balto-Slavic languages nothing parallel can be found, for in them, as in all other non-Indo-Iranian dialects (excepting Greek), I.-E. *ə* coincided with I.-E. *a* and therefore did not give rise to an *i* which might have wrought this change. Thus Skt. *kṛaviṣ* 'flesh', Av. *xrvīšyant* 'blood-thirsty', Gr. *kṛéas* (<I.-E. **grevəs*). The Greek personal ending *-ásthēs* in 2. sg. aor. med. has its exact counterpart in the Skt. *-iṣ-* Aorist ending *-iṣthās*. The initial vowel of this ending is *a* in

Greek and *i* in Skt.,—which proves that in the original Indo-European it was *ə*. Here we find again that an *i* < I.-E. *ə* has cerebralised a dental *s* in Skt.

In the field of morphology one of the most striking common innovations of Skt. and Avestan consists in the employment of *u* as the reduplication vowel in the present and of *i* or *u* as reduplication vowel in the perfect, particularly in the case of verbs with a radical *i* or *u*.

It is generally assumed on good grounds that the reduplication vowel was originally always *i* in present and always *e* in perfect, which latter naturally became *a* in Indo-Iranian. Yet this distinction between present and perfect was not preserved intact in any Indo-European dialect, and the original state of things in this respect was very much disturbed in the Indo-Iranian dialects. But what is of particular interest to us here is to note that the disturbances are exactly the same in Skt. and Avestan. In both these dialects *i* is still predominantly the reduplication vowel in present; cf. Skt. *tīṣṭhati* : Av. *hištanti* (: Gr. *hístēmi*), Skt. *siṣakṭi* : Av. *hišaxti*, Skt. *iyarti* : Av. (*uz*) *yarāt*, etc. But the influence of the perfect reduplication with *e* on the present reduplication may be clearly perceived already in the Indo-Iranian era; cf. Skt. *dādāti*, Av. *daḍaiti*, though the corresponding Greek form *dídōsi* still shows the original *i* in the reduplication syllable. In the same way Skt. *dádhati* Av. *daḍaiti* (: Gr. *títhēsi*), Skt. *jáhāti* Av. *zazāhi*, etc.

The opposite influence of present forms on the perfect was however even more far-reaching, so that even the anomalies of present reduplication were transferred to perfect reduplication by analogy. In all this Avestan goes hand in hand with Skt. At first the present reduplication vowel *i* crept into perfect reduplication in the case of roots containing an *i*; cf. Skt. *didvéṣa*, Av. *didvaēša* (: *divi-*), Skt. *āsiṣāya*, Av. *āhiṣāya* (: *sāy-*). Gradually however this *i* made its appearance also in the case of some of those roots which contained no *i*; cf. Skt. *vivásvān*, Av. *vivaṅhušō* (: *vas-*). The only other quotable form of this type in Skt. is the doubtful *vivakṣvān* (from *vac-*?), but several examples may be quoted

from Avestan; cf. Av. *diḍāra* beside *daḍāra*: Skt. *dādhāra*, etc. In the same way the reduplication vowel *u* invaded the perfect forms after it was firmly established in present reduplication. It is quite evident that on the proportional analogy of *diṣṭāh*, *diṣāte*: *didiṣṭāna* (imperative) a form *jujuṣṭāna* with an *u* in the reduplication syllable automatically came into being on the basis of the simpler unreduplicated forms *juṣṭāh*, *juṣate*. Gradually in Skt. *u* became the normal reduplication vowel in present in the case of roots containing an *u*, but in Avestan the corresponding forms still often show the original reduplication vowel *i*; cf. Skt. *jūjoṣate* but Av. *zīzušte*. Yet the analogical *u* is found also in Avestan, cf. Skt. *śúśrūṣati*: Av. *susrušəmnō*. From the present this analogical *u* gradually made its way also into perfect and in Skt. it became even the normal vowel in perfect reduplication in the case of roots containing an *u*, just as in present; cf. Skt. *ruródha*: Av. *urūraoda*, Skt. *tūtāva*: Av. *tūtava*, etc. Only two Skt. roots in *-ū* have retained perfect forms with the original *a* in the reduplication syllable, e.g., *babhāva* from *bhū-* and *sasūva* (beside *suṣuvé*!) from *sū-*. Yet Avestan perfect forms of the former prove that in the Indo-Iranian age both *a* and *u* could function as the reduplication vowel of *bhū-*, cf. *bābvarə* (perfect of intensive) and *bvāva* (to be read as *buvāva*).

The peculiar passive aorist in *-i* used only in third person singular is another striking innovation of Skt. and Avestan, for which no parallel can be found in any other Indo-European dialect; cf. Skt. *āvāci*: Av. *avācī*, Skt. *śrāvi* (augmentless form in injunctive): Av. *srāvī*, etc. The origin of this form, which is so common in Vedic that it came to be substituted for the proper third person of any aorist middle that is used in a passive sense, is quite obscure. It is all the more striking therefore that in Avestan (and Old Persian) this isolated passive aorist form appears in exactly the same form and exercises the same syntactical functions.

Though not so obscure, but hardly less striking is the element *u* which characterises the third person sg. and pl. of imperative in active both in Skt. and Avestan. That

forms like Skt. *bháratu*, *bhárantu* : Av. *baratu*, *barantu* are nothing but proper injunctive forms extended by the particle *u* was recognised long ago. It is curious to note in this connection that the deictic particle *u* is very often used after imperative forms in the RV. and often it is an essential part of the form itself; cf. *éto* (*éta+u*), *tápa* (*tápa+u*). It is very probable that this deictic particle was permanently joined to the I.-E. injunctive forms in the Indo-Iranian age in two cases of special frequency and gave rise to the Skt. and Avestan imperative forms referred to above, for which parallel forms can be found in no other Indo-European dialect. In two other cases the personal ending of imperative exhibit analogous innovations both in Sanskrit and Avestan. In 2nd person sg. act. the usual ending is sometimes increased by *-na* in Skt., cf. *kár-ta*, *kár-tana*. A similar phenomenon may be observed only in Avestan, where we find both the forms *bara* and *baranā* side by side. In 1st pers. sg. both the endings *-ā* (subj.) and *-āni* are current in Skt. and Avestan and this is again a remarkable linguistic innovation common to both. The ending *-āni* very probably stands for **āna*, of which the element *-na* is doubtless identical with the *-na* of *kár-tana*. Now it appears that already in the Indo-Iranian age this ending **-āna*, clearly of subjunctive origin, had been changed into *-āni* on the analogy of 2nd and 3rd pers. sg. which ended in *-i*. It is curious to note however that the imperative forms in *-tāt*, which are abundant in Skt. and have their origin in the Indo-European age, cannot be traced in Iranian.

In noun inflexion many common linguistic innovations may be observed in Skt. and Avestan. One may conveniently begin with the ending *-nām* in gen. pl. which is so common in these two languages. The I.-E. gen. pl. ending was *-ōm*, both for consonant and vowel stems. But in Skt. although for consonant stems the older ending has been retained on the whole, a new form *-nām* has been substituted for it in the case of all vowel stems, the only exception in this respect being *devām* (for *devānām*) in the phrase *devām jánma*. Yet however, it is not altogether a specific Skt. or Indo-Iranian innovation, for it is very probable that the ending

-*nōm* used to be applied to feminine -*ā*-stems already in the I.-E. epoch, cf. O. H. G. *gebono*, O. Norse *runono*. Perhaps for *i* and *ū*-stems too the same old alliance with the ending -*nōm* has to be postulated, for feminine forms such as Lat. *reg-īna*, Gr. *aischūnē* prove the I.-E. antiquity of their alliance with an analogical *n*. But this is all that can be said in support of the pre-Indo-Iranian existence of the ending -*nām*. The -*ānām* of *a*-stems is an Indo-Iranian innovation. It is true that in Avesta the ending -*ānām* is met with only once (*mašyānam*=Skt. *martyānām*) and in all other cases we find only the ending -*anam*. But the latter may easily be a defective writing for -*ānam*, which is rendered all the more probable by the fact that in Old Persian the only form known is -*ānām*. On the analogy of *a*-stems those in *i* and *u* too began to employ -*nām* instead of -*ām*, and that already in the Indo-Iranian period, cf. Skt. *giriṇām*: Av. *gairinām*, Skt. *vāsūnām*: Av. *vohunām*, etc. Yet Skt. is often left in the lurch by Avestan in these cases, for in it *i* and *u*-stems often take the older shorter ending -*ām* in gen. pl., cf. Skt. *sākhinām* but Av. *hašam*, Skt. *paśūnām* but Av. *pasvām*. This shows that Skt. has gone farther than Avestan in generalising the ending -*nām*. Skt. forms such as *nṛṇām*, *pitṛṇām* (derived from *r*-stems) and further *caturṇām*, *gonām*, *ṣaṇṇām* have no parallel in Iranian.

The declension of feminine -*ā*-stems shows again a series of striking common innovations in Skt. and Avestan. The case-suffixes for Instr., Dat., Abl., Gen., Loc., and Voc. singular of -*ā*-stems show peculiar forms in both these languages which cannot be found in any other Indo-European dialect. The old Indo-European ending -*ā* in Instr. sg. is also used for *ā*-stems in Skt. and Avestan, specially in the case of stems in -*yā* and -*tā*, cf. Skt. *sukṛtyā avīratā*, Av. (*uštānō*) *čīnahyā yesnyatā*. (It is possible however that in both these cases the shorter ending is due to haplology: -*yā* stands for -*yayā* and -*tā* for -*tātā* (i.e., -*tāt-ā*)). But in both the normal ending is the analogical -*ayā*, which was originally at home in the pronominal declension. The Dat., Gen.,

Abl. and Loc. sg. show dissyllabic endings in Sanskrit, characterised by the common element *-āy-* : *-āyai*, *-āyāḥ*, *-āyām*. The corresponding Avestan endings are *ayāi*, *-ayā* and *-ayā*, the initial short *a* of all of which may be due either to defective writing or to the analogy of the ending *-ayā* in Instr. sg. In the other Indo-European dialects the corresponding case-suffixes are monosyllabic and such as would correspond to the Indo-Iranian endings if their common element *-āy-* were taken away. It is clear therefore that already in the Indo-Iranian epoch this *-āy-* came to be joined to the *-ā-*stems in all these cases. Only a guess can be made as to the origin of this *-āy-* : perhaps it is analogically derived from the *i/yā-*stems which have the endings *-yai*, *-yāḥ* and *-yām* in Dat., Gen., Abl. and Loc. sg.; cf. *devyai*, *devyāḥ*, *devyām*. In the original Indo-European the *-ā-*stems came to have the same ending *-āi* both in Loc. (*-ā+i*) and Dat. (*-ā+ai*). The postposition *ā* was attached to the Locative ending in the Indo-Iranian epoch¹ to distinguish it from the Dative ending,—whence Avestan **āyā*. Further extended by the mobile element *-am*, which plays such an important part in nominal and pronominal declension in Skt., it gave rise to the Skt. ending *-āyām*. On the analogy of this *-āyām* on the one hand and the endings *-yai*, *-yāḥ*, *-yām* of *i/yā-*stems on the other, the element *-āy-* was introduced also into the endings of Dat. and Gen.,-Abl. of *-ā-*stems in Skt. and Avestan (Bartholomae, Wackernagel). Lastly in Voc. sg. the *-ā-*stems both in Skt. and Avestan have the ending *-e* (in Avestan beside it also the ending *-a*) which cannot be paralleled by any other Indo-European language; cf. Skt. *sarame*, Av. *razište* (but also *pouručištā*). The origin of this ending *e* in Voc. sg. is quite obscure, and it is all the more striking therefore that it is common both to Skt. and Avestan. In the other I.-E. languages the Voc. sg. ending of *-ā-*stems is usually *-a*, which may be either derived from *a* or, as the analogy of *i-* and *u-*stems suggests, may be

¹ Or even still earlier, for the *ā-*stems in Lithuanian too seem to have extended the Loc. sg. ending by the post-position *e*; cf. Lith. *-oj-e*, but O. Ch. Sl. *-e*.

simply the shortened form of the radical $-ā$ in unstressed position; cf. Gr. *óphis*: *óphi*, *pēchus*: *pēchu*, *númphē*: *númpa*. In no case however can this $-a$ be connected with the Indo-Iranian ending $-e$.

It is well known that in Skt. the $-i$ -stems take the ending $-au$ in Loc. sg. which is evidently derived from the $-u$ -stems. The original I.-E. ending in this case was $-āi$ (cf. Goth. *anstei*: Loc. *anstai*), and this ending actually seems to be retained in Skt. *Agnāy-ī*, which, according to the genial interpretation of Brugmann, signifies nothing but "the female near *Agni*." With the exception of this sole instance in all other cases this original ending was replaced by the analogical ending $-au$ -, not only in Skt. but also in Avestan, for there too the i -stems, beside the regular ending, show the same analogical form in Loc. sg., though however the forms in question are used exclusively as infinitives; cf. *haṣra.ṣatā* 'to kill all of a sudden,' *hubərətā* 'to nurse carefully' (the final $-ā$ of these forms stands for $-au$). On the strength of Greek forms like *pólēi* (trisyllabic) < **pólēvi* (stem *poli*-) it was suggested that this analogical transfer of the case-suffix of Loc. sg. is even of I.-E. antiquity, for **pólēvi* was interpreted as **pólēu + i*, of which $-ēu$ corresponds to Indo-Iranian $-āu$ and i is nothing but the original Loc.-suffix attached to the form at a later stage. Yet however these peculiar loc.-forms might have arisen independently on the soil of Greece as Brugmann has pointed out.

Beside the endings $-(i)yā$ and $-inā$, the only ones current in classical Skt., the $-i$ -stems often take the shorter ending $ī$ in the older language; cf. besides *utiyā*, *matyā*, *dhās inā* also *ācittī*. This shorter ending in Instr. sg. is again without any parallel in the other Indo-European languages if the Avestan is excepted. There, with one sole exception, namely *haša* = Skt. *sākhyā*, the $-i$ -stems take only this short ending in Instr. sg., cf. *aši*, *čisti*, etc. Avestan $-u$ -stems similarly know only the shorter ending $-ū$ (written $-u$), cf. *mainyu*, *daēnu*, *vōhu*, etc.,—the sole exception in this case being *xraθwā* = Skt. *krátvā* (ending $(u)vā$). It is quite likely therefore that in the earliest Vedic the $-u$ -stems knew also the

shorter ending *-ā* in Instr. sg., though however no unambiguous form can be quoted from the extant texts to prove its existence.

All these and various other common linguistic innovations conclusively prove that Skt. and Avestan are to be regarded as a pair of twins within the brotherhood of Indo-European languages. Yet we have to bear in mind that neither Skt. nor Avestan represents a homogeneous language, —each of them contains a number of distinct dialects associated with different ages and regions. It is natural therefore that the earliest Skt. agrees best with the earliest Avestan. It is to be noted, however, that in various respects the oldest Avestan is more archaic than the oldest Skt. In the earliest Avestan *Gāθā*-dialect, for instance, the old thematic personal ending *-ā* (<I.-E. *ō*) in 1st. sg., is still retained, but even in the earliest Skt. there is no trace of it. Already in the earliest Vedic the athematic ending *-mi* has been generalised as in later Avestan. The working of Bartholomae's law according to which the group 'sonant asp. + surd' becomes 'sonant + sonant asp.', is again more archaic in the *Gāθā* dialect than in the earliest Skt., in which both the earlier and later forms are found side by side. I.-E. roots with initial and final aspirates appear with an initial aspiration in Skt. when the final aspiration is dropped, mostly on account of contact with an *s*. But there are not a few exceptions to this rule in older Skt. Thus the aorist stem of *dah-* (<**dhagh-*) is *daḁṣ-* (not *dhakṣ-* as to be expected) and the desiderative stem of *duh-* (<**dhuḡh-*) is *duḁṣ-* (not *dhukṣ-*). These *d*-forms appeared to be so anomalous to the Vedic commentators that in the *Padapāṭha* actually *dh*-forms are given for them. The reduplicated stems *baps-* and *jakṣ-* (derived from *bhas-* and *ghas-* respectively) are still more striking, for they have no aspirated form at all at their side. All this shows that the combination 'aspirate + *s*' exercised the same influence on a preceding aspirate as an aspirate alone. In other words we have to assume that at least in these cases the law of dissimilation had acted at a time when, due to contact with *s*, the final sonant aspirate had

not yet become unaspirated tenuis (*k-s*, *t-s*, *p-s*), but had given rise to combinations *gzh* (<*gh-s*), *dzh* (<*dh-s*) and *bzh* (<*bh-s*) (metathesis of aspiration according to Bartholomae's law). These sonant groups at once give the impression of being older than the surd ones. The apparent exceptions to the law of dissimilation are therefore nothing but the result of the same law acting at an earlier stage. Every doubt on this score will be set at rest if the Avestan forms are compared. In analogous cases the Gāṇā-dialect shows only the sonant groups; cf. *diwžaidyāi* (-bž-, written -wž-, from -bh+s-), *aogžā* (-gž- from -gh+s-) etc. In the later Avesta however the surd groups sometimes occur; cf. *hangərəfšāne* (-fš- from -bh+s-), *daxša* (-xš- from -gh+s-).

In a very few cases in the RV. a neuter plural takes a singular verb. In this respect, too, the Gāṇā dialect is distinctly more archaic than the Vedic, for this incongruity is the rule in it just as in Greek. In later Avestan however such constructions are rare.

In comparison with later Avestan however, Skt. is distinctly more archaic, for later Avestan actually shows some of the characteristics of Middle Iranian dialects. Intervocalic consonants tend to become spirantic in it and the dual number is gradually got rid of. Confusion in the use of cases, already well-nigh hopeless in the Gāṇās, becomes still more confounded in later Avestan. The various moods and tenses are no longer distinguished, subjunctive forms are used in indicative, and the prohibitive particle *mā*, which is connected only with the injunctive in the Gāṇā-dialect just as in Skt., appears also in connection with the optative in later Avestan.

In striking contrast with all other Indo-European dialects Avestan, or Iranian as a whole, resembles Skt. in one important respect: the subsequent development of both, although absolutely independent of each other, has been strikingly alike. Phonology, morphology and syntax of Middle Iranian dialects are unmistakably analogous to those of Middle Indian ones. The same general tendencies, which were inherent in the two respective basic languages, found

expression in their later descendants in the same or similar ways. This is again a powerful, though indirect, evidence in proof of the close affinity of Skt. to Avestan.

Comparison with Avestan is therefore indispensable to an historical study of Skt. On innumerable points, both regarding general principles and particular details, Avestan throws light on the history of Skt. as the above rapid comparative survey has shown. Who would, for instance, believe that the original form of the familiar Skt. root *brū-* was *mrū-* if the verb *mrav-* was not actually found to occur in the Avestan?

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"The Study of Javanese Literature in India"

Under the above title Dr. Berg has published in the current number of the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* some critical remarks on my *Indian Influences on the literature of Java and Bali*." It is not the custom to reply to a book-reviewer, but as remarks have been made which are not warranted by facts, not to speak of misuse of the superlative degree, I apprehend that silence on my part may mean acquiescence and have therefore been forced to write this reply.

In judging my work Dr. Berg has completely ignored the fact that it is written from an Indian point of view. The works which do not betray Indian influences to a great extent, as for instance the *Calon Arang*, could not demand the same attention as the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Bhārata-yuddha*, or even the *Arjuna-vivāha*. The Javanese element in these works, though not unnecessary for understanding them as a whole, could not but appear to me as a side-issue, because my theme was not the Javanese elements themselves, but rather the Indian aspect of the Indonesian literature. Even then I did not neglect to point out as far as possible the Javanese element in these works. Reference may be made, for instance, to my studies on the *Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin*, the *Korawāśrama*, the *Agastyaparva*, the *Arjuna pralabda*, the *Tantri kāmāṇḍaka* and other works. Moreover, it should not be forgotten (as Dr. Berg seems to have done) that of hundreds of old-Javanese works, not more than thirty or thirty-five have been so far published. For the rest we have to rely mainly on the MSS. catalogues. It is possible to ransack these thirty-five works for Javanese elements, but what about the rest? Any way, the Javanese elements have received the share of credit that is due to them in a work that principally deals with Indian influences on Indonesian literature. Dr.

Berg has raised another point. He says, "It is inadmissible to treat Middle Java and Eastern Java and their respective literatures in exactly the same manner It is necessary to keep one's eye on the differences existing between the two in order to judge correctly the final results of the influence of India on the literature of Java." This remark is out of place, since so far from treating Javanese literature as one organic whole I have described each work separately, analysing the Indian (and when possible, the Javanese) influences on the same. Dr. Berg knows fully well that the place of origin of most of the old Javanese works is not known, and as few of these works have yet been published, a comparison between the literatures of Middle and East Java is, to say the least, premature. These circumstances are so obvious that Dr. Berg should at least have referred to them. Regarding Dr. Berg's theory, enunciated in the *Hoofddlijnen*, of 'parallel literature' (which has yet to be generally accepted) I regret I could not even refer to this, as the booklet reached my hands too late. I may, however, here be permitted to record my views on the same. Historical traditions of Central and Eastern Java are bound to be different on account of the diverse political and social factors at work in these two regions. These factors make a good case for parallel traditions but not for parallel literature, because, to judge from extant works, old-Javanese was the common vehicle of literature in Java in the ancient period. And my book is principally concerned with the ancient period.

The plan of my work has led me to consider the chronology of old-Javanese literature, the more so as each book has been separately treated. If in determining the date of one work I have become involved with other works, it is not my fault. Dr. Berg may remember that Prof. Krom, whom he quotes more than once, has, while discussing the *Smaradahan* (*Geschiedenis*, pp. 298-99) felt it necessary to utilise the data from the *Vṛtasañcaya*, *Lubdhaka* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* to elucidate the date of the first-mentioned work.

So far regarding the plan of my work and Dr. Berg's objections thereto. I shall now refer to the specific charges

made by him. Regarding the so-called Middle-Javanese literature, its position with reference to old and modern Javanese literature, and its chronology (between 1478 and 1682), I was guided by an article on Javanese literature published in the *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch oost-Indie*. Dr. Berg has adversely criticised this view, but in doing so he should not have ignored my further statement (*Indian Influences*, p. 11). "It must not be imagined that this division of literary epochs is absolute—it merely represents a rough classification of literary ideals and styles in three distinct diversified forms." Dr. Berg's remark regarding p. 160 ff. of my work misrepresents my view-point, for I tried to show that the date of some figures on the list, that of Udayan for example, exactly tallies with what is derived from inscriptions. Dr. Berg could have easily answered that this agreement of dates was accidental.

The impression which the critic has derived from the first few chapters of my work, namely that the Indian colonists turned Java into a miniature replica of Bhāratavarṣa is not correct so far as the interior regions are concerned. The mighty architectural remains, the *Record* of It-sing, the occurrence of Sanskrit inscriptions jointly indicate the great influence exerted by the colonists on the cultural life of Java, particularly on the colonised regions. I refer in this connexion to the struggle of languages—Sanskrit and Javanese—which resulted in the birth of *Kawi*, the artificial compromise language. How again can Dr. Berg explain the fact that 70 p.c. of the old Javanese words are of Sanskrit origin, that all the oldest inscriptions of Java are written in Sanskrit and the *Amaramālā*, the oldest dateable work (c. 750-850), is an attempt to teach Sanskrit? In the place of the Kalasan inscription, c. 778 A.D., however, I should now read the stone of Dieng, 809 A.D. This does not, of course, invalidate my main contention that the old-Javanese language arose from the struggle of the two languages.

On the date of the old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* there is no unanimity among competent scholars and it can hardly be expected that my view will be accepted by all. In studying

this problem I have placed the data in a new light. This has probably led Dr. Berg to make some remarks which are indefinite, except that the introduction of the *Vṛttasañcaya* cannot be relied on for ascertaining the date of the old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*. Any way, as this introduction has not been my mainstay, the acceptance or rejection of its evidence does not affect my conclusion. I wonder how one can reject without consideration the persistent and independent traditions tending to the same conclusion. While dealing with the *liṅga* of Krapjak in *TBG* 74, has not Dr. Stutterheim shown how a particular tradition can run on for a thousand years? Dr. Berg also forgets what I stated in my book, that my chronology explains the existing data on the problems of the *Rāmāyaṇa* better. If Dr. Berg can prove that the writers of the *Lubdhaka* and the *Vṛttasañcaya* are the same person, he will do a great service to Indo-Javanese scholarship.

It is not also true to say that I have "taken it for granted that the entire religious literature of the Hindus was transplanted to Java." While winding up the discussion on the religious literature of Java (*Indian Influences*, p. 79) I have said just the reverse thing: "The Javanese people thus accepted the principles of the social hierarchy of India and borrowed her religious views, but a substantial portion of her literature bearing on the subject practically remained sealed to them." Similarly Dr. Berg's statement that "the possibility that the *Vedas*, together with the *Brāhmaṇas*, *Upanishads*, *Śāstras* (a vague term, H.B.S.) and *Sūtras* may have been of as little interest to the Javanese as the Indian drama and several other branches of Indian literature, has seemingly not struck the author, and so he has not asked what were the causes of this phenomenon" ignores what I wrote on p. 396 and implied on p. 79 of my work. Whether the absence of this literature has to be attributed to the want of interest of the Javanese or the loss of *lontar*-records which were not duplicated in later times or whether the first *Brāhmaṇas* compelled by neces-

sity to intermarry with the aboriginal inhabitants conscientiously forbade the Vedic literature to pollute posterity in spite of the interestedness of the Javanese—is a question which may not now be answered with certainty. The last two possibilities have been mentioned in the book. With reference to Dr. Berg's remarks on pp. 44-45 of the *Annual Bibliography* I have not admitted the fact that the Javanese shadow-plays have re-oriented or transformed many Indian epic stories. In judging the *Wayang*-stories we should take Indian epics as the standard, because the outline or the inspiration has been drawn from them. So, if by working up Indian myths into *lakons*, the Javanese redactors make Nārada a clown or present Ghaṭotkaca and Abhimanyu as fighting over women, is that no harm to the Indian characters? Whatever be the motive for this transformation it cannot but appear to an Indian viewing the problem from the Indian standpoint (*Indian Influences, Introd.*, p. 1) that Indonesian presentation does scant justice to the original characters.

Dr. Berg finds my characterisation of the *Nāgarakṛtā-gama* as "more of a history than a poetical composition" to be wrong. May I put the query, what was the occasion for his explaining the name as "the *history* of the growth and blossoming of the kingdom" (*Inleiding*, p. 61)? As the work was written in verses the author was bound to pay attention to the verse-technique. Dr. Berg quotes the authority of Prof. Krom, but the latter scholar, while discussing the sources of old-Javanese history, has not included the *Nāg°* under the heading of literature and has referred to it (*Geschiedenis*, p. 10) as one of "the couple of historical works." Elsewhere (*Ibid.*, p. 14) Dr. Krom also refers to invaluable particulars of the *Nāg°*. Does he not also say (*Ibid.*, p. 19). " It continues to be the history of the ancestors of the king glorified in a panegyric . . ." and that "he (Prapañca) is in general perfectly reliable"? There are at least half a dozen explanations of the name of Barabudur. From the nature of the case, certainty cannot be reached on such a question but one can never shut his

eyes to the possible alternatives. The theory about the Śaivite renaissance in 863 A.D. (misprinted in the *Bibliography* as 563) originally propounded by Dr. Goris in *Theologie* appeared acceptable to me when I wrote my book, but from my notes on the Pereng stone inscription to be published in this journal, it will appear that Goris's case is not so strong as I took it to be. Any way those who are acquainted with the influence of Śaṅkarācārya in India and the history of contact between India and Indonesia during this period, will not wonder if that were really so. Regarding Maduran literature, I should indeed delete the word 'important' but in respect of the Wawekan Dr. Berg's remark is, to put it mildly, a travesty of truth. In no place of my work have I accepted the data of the *Wawatekan* excepting in the case of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and that for special reasons. As to the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, Dr. Gonda's edition reached me when a few chapters of my work were already printed. The alternatives, open to me, were either (a) to rely on Friederich, or (b) not to refer to the work at all. I preferred the former course. I now gladly recognise that my reasons for a supposed period of Vaiṣṇavism in Java were not adequate. If I remember correctly, I was here led by an Encyclopaedia-article. As to another point, when an Indian author writes from India, the island of Sumatra is little indeed, but it does not seem so to one writing from Holland or Great Britain. If from my work (p. 71) Dr. Berg gets the impression that the Museum of Mojokerto is more important than those of Batavia and Leiden, that is unfortunate because I have said (*Indian Influences*, Introduction) that the major number of MSS. is not available outside Batavia and Leiden. Regarding the *Kuṇḍarakaṇḍa*, I fear I have been a little misunderstood. What I said was that the work "may be" of Western Javanese origin and that the "oldest MSS." has been found from that region: When other sources do not help us much, the find-spot of the oldest MS. offers provisional indication of its origin. Regarding the position of women in Indonesia I observed (p. 105), "The position of Indonesian women, though not very high, was at least similar to or a little better

than, that of their Indian sisters." Dr. Berg retorts, "Any book dealing with *adats* of the Indian archipelago might have told him that the position of women in Java is on the whole more favourable than that of their sisters in India proper." Allowing for Dr. Berg's confusion of the present for the past, is not this a paraphrase of my statement? Regarding his remark on p. 114 of my work, I cannot do better than quote Prof. Krom (*Geschiedens*, p. 11), "The method whereby the data have come to us is of two kinds The authors especially those of the poems, have *frequently* offered, [at the beginning or at the close of their works, diverse informations regarding themselves " (Italics mine). I am, however, thankful to Dr. Berg for pointing out that I should have considered the possibility of Indian origin for the so-called "small metres." His remarks on *jinn* and the *usadas* may be correct. In the following line Dr. Berg has misunderstood me. I have referred to the chronograms not as fixing the date of particular works, but merely as "a mode of expression." As a mode of expression, they are certainly a legion. Dr. Berg may refer to the *Nāg*°. The explanation of the name of the *Tantu Panggelaran* by Kern appears doubtful to me now, but Dr. Berg's elucidation of the linguistic characteristics of two different epochs present in the work will be appreciated by all. Dr. Hidding's *Nji Pohatji Sang-jang Sri* is not yet available to me.

The possibility of the old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* being an independent creation is ruled out by the consideration that some portions of the old-Javanese text are an exact echo of the text of Vālmiki (*cf. Indian Influences*, p. 402). While referring to 1200 early Javanese versions, I doubted its correctness, but the name of Mr. Kats, I thought, was a sufficient guarantee for the genuineness of the information. I note what Dr. Berg says about the date of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* and the alternative explanation of 'abilawa'. The old-Javanese recension of the *Bhagavadgītā* has been discussed by Prof. Gonda only recently, and I could not therefore utilise it for my work. To an Indianist, the Sanskrit ślokas of the old-Javanese *Mahābhārata* are of great value for solving the

problem of a complete recension of the Sanskrit text, and I have recognised their importance (*Ibid.*, p. 241). Before making the remark on Jaya-katwang, Dr. Berg should have noticed Krom, *Geschiedens*, (p. 296), which I have followed in some respects. Dr. Berg has certainly seen that my remark on the source of the *suluk* was based upon that of Stutterheim. My remarks on the *lakon Mintaraga* and on Damar Wulan were based upon Juynboll's article in the *Encyclo. Ned. Ind.* IV. The title *Koravāśrama* has not been used on pp. 325-35 of my work and Dr. Berg might have misunderstood the bearing of my statement on p. 325. I note, however, that my reference to the Bal. translation of the *Bhomakāvya*, based on Dr. Juynboll, is not correct. Dr. Berg writes that Poerbatjaraka has "certainly never written anything on the subject of Panji romances." Dr. Poerbatjaraka has certainly written on the same and it may be seen in *TBG*, LVIII, pp. 461-489. I recognise the importance of Dr. Rasser's researches, but the results are so startling that we shall have to await further light from other sources (ethnology for instance). The last part of the history of Majapahit falls between 1378-1478, and 1278-1478 is a printing mistake. Regarding the last note on p. 402 of my work, Dr. Berg has misunderstood me, as the earlier opinion refers to that of Kern which is no longer acceptable. My work is principally based on Dutch sources. If Dr. Berg has noted the footnotes of my work, his remarks on my study of old and new Javanese languages would not have arisen at all. All books and articles concerning Indonesia do not reach India, but I have tried to make the best use of those available here. Dr. Berg recognises the importance of maintaining contact between the two poles of research. If Dutch and Indonesian scholars make it a point to present copies of their works to the Greater India Society, which centralises Indian intellectual curiosity on Greater India, the work of their Indian colleagues will be more fruitful and the task less arduous.

Unbiased readers may now judge for themselves what is the nature of Dr. Berg's "critical remarks." I do not pretend that my book is free from all blemishes. In a pioneer

work of this character small mistakes are inevitable, but they are not such as to provoke rancorous remarks from a sober scholar. Dr. Berg should remember that in old-Javanese matters there is always room for doubt and one should not misuse terms like 'certainly', 'unfortunately', 'goes too far', etc.

H. B. SARKAR.

A CORRECTION

In the previous issue of this journal (Vol. III, pp. 111-12) I wrote that the date of a Solo copper-plate (No. 193) was read by Poerbatjaraka as 849 Śaka and by Goris as 829 Śaka. In the same connection I observed that this latter date was contested by Stutterheim who subscribed to the reading of Poerbatjaraka. Dr. Stutterheim now kindly informs me that while discussing the Gorang Gareng plate, he did not contest the reading of the date by Goris. The misunderstanding arose from my inferring that the numeral 4 in the plate of Gorang Gareng (which Dr. Stutterheim considers to be certain) was also applicable in the place of 2 of the date in the Solo-plate, thus making the date run as 849 Śaka. In Old-Javanese inscriptions it is really difficult to differentiate between 2 and 4. I therefore very willingly delete the portion referring to Dr. Stutterheim.

H. B. SARKAR

NOTICES OF BOOKS

The Javanese Version of the Bhagavadgita. By J. Gonda, Utrecht. Reprinted from *Tijdschrift voor Ind. Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, Deel lxxv, 1935, pp. 36-82.

Of the Javanese adaptation of the *Mahābhārata*, only eight out of eighteen Parvans have so far been brought to our notice by the labours of the Dutch scholars. The present short but interesting paper is a study of the Javanese version of an important part of the Bhīṣma Parvan, viz., the Bhagavadgītā; it will appeal not only to the professional scholar but also to all those who take an interest in the history and adventures of the Great Epic.

In spite of the comparatively recent date (*circa* 1000 A.D.) of the Javanese version, which however precedes that of any known manuscript, it possesses a considerable importance for critical purposes as an independent testimonium. It does not, however, give a complete translation of the Sanskrit epic; it offers a more or less abridged adaptation, in Javanese, of the original. As such, it hardly affords much assistance for determining the complicated text-problem of the epic; but to the text-critic its chief value lies in the fact that throughout the Javanese adaptation are scattered direct quotations from the Sanskrit text, consisting of a Śloka, or a part of Śloka, or sometimes even a single word. As a rule, these Sanskrit excerpts are given in an extremely corrupt form, but are followed by a more or less literal translation into Old Javanese.

Dr. Gonda assures us that the paper under review is the preliminary to an edition of the Javanese text of the *Bhagavadgītā* which he is going to publish. His present object is to give an indication of the differences, as well as agreements, of the Javanese text with that of the Sanskrit epic; but he maintains that in order to do so it is necessary to study the entire Javanese text and not merely the Sanskrit quotations. Accordingly he gives us an English translation of the

Javanese text, with a rapid comparison of the contents of each Adhyāya with the summary of the Vulgate given by R. G. Bhandarkar in his well-known work, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*. Dr. Gonda finds that there is much that is missing or is skipped over in the Javanese version; but he comes to the general conclusion that "the Old-Javanese Bhagavadgīta, as we have it, is a rather good translation. He believes that the Javanese author has given only those parts of the subject-matter which he considered to be the most important, and deliberately left out the remainder. He has thus made his own selection and set forth, on the basis of his Sanskrit copy, the outlines of what Dr. Gonda calls a shorter Javanese Gītā. On the other hand, Dr. Gonda believes that in some of these points his text surprisingly agrees with the Kashmirian recension described by Schrader. Incidentally he discusses the relation between the Javanese text and the quotations found in Alberuni; but he himself admits that the result of his comparison is, on the whole, very poor.

It should be clearly understood that the value of the Javanese version, as indeed of all versions of the epic, depends upon the value of the tradition which it is found, on examination, to represent; and until this problem is determined it is possible to exaggerate its importance. It must not be forgotten that from time immemorial the epic existed in local versions; and that this process was not stopped even by scriptal fixation has now been amply demonstrated by the critical edition published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. It is indeed true that the Javanese version gives us a form of the text which is far older than our existing manuscripts, but it establishes nothing beyond the fact that it is evidence only for the text of the epic as it existed in that particular local form in that century and was known to the Javanese adapter. Like our manuscripts and like other versions, it is thus one of the evidences (albeit uninfluenced from that century onwards); but its collateral testimony does not prove anything regarding the character of the original Mahābhārata.

It is desirable, therefore, to determine the tradition of the Sanskrit epic which the Javanese author accepts. The agreements with the Kashmirian version would not be very surprising if it could be established that the Javanese version of the *Bhagavadgītā* followed the Northern Recension. If, on the other hand, it could be shewn that it followed the Southern Recension, then these agreements would not be secondary but original, and would, therefore, possess immense value to the text-critic. In this investigation, however, Dr. Gonda is naturally handicapped by the fact that no critical edition of the Sanskrit text of the part with which he is concerned has yet been published. Neither the Vulgate nor the so-called South Indian text is of much assistance in this direction, for they do not give us any idea of the text of the various recensions and versions. Dr. Sukthankar has shown that the text of the Sanskrit *Ādi-parvan*, which was followed by the Javanese adapter of the same, belonged to the Northern Recension. The Northern (Vulgate) version is also followed by the Javanese version of the *Udyoga-parvan*, the Sanskrit text of which the present writer has undertaken for the Poona edition. But it appears that the statement does not apply so definitely to the case of the *Virāṭa-parvan*. As a matter of fact, the problem is probably different for the different books of the *Mahābhārata*. It would be interesting and important, therefore, to know what recension was followed by the Javanese writer of the *Bhīṣma-parvan* in general and the *Bhagavadgītā* in particular. But the problem cannot be definitely solved until the critical edition of this *Parvan*, which would give us an exact idea of the different recensions and versions, is published.

Dr. Gonda's labours, however, must not, for this reason, be taken as fruitless. There cannot be any doubt that he has rendered a distinct service to the study of the epic text by translating the entire Javanese adaptation of the *Bhagavadgītā* into English. He might have also reproduced the Sanskrit excerpts, as he found them, and not as he wants to emend or reconstruct them, along with his translation of these passages. But he will probably do this when he brings out

his intended edition. In the meantime, all interested scholars will eagerly look forward to what he has promised and what he has ably justified by this short but highly suggestive essay.

S. K. DE

Gids in het Volkenkunde Museum, XIII. De Indianen en Boschnegers van Suriname: By B. M. Goslings, 127 pp. Issued by the Koninklijke Vereeniging Koloniaal Instituut.

Some useful monographs have already been published in this series by well-known authors. The work under review, which forms No. XIII in the series, is meant to serve as a guide to the Ethnological Museum of the Colonial Institute and is devoted, according to our author, to the Indians and Bush-niggers of Suriname, as Dutch Guiana is usually designated by the people of the Netherlands. The title of the work, however, is somewhat misleading, as the book principally describes the handicrafts of the Indians and the Bush-niggers of Suriname, rather than the peoples themselves. The introductory portion of the work is aptly devoted to a short history of the place and to the above-mentioned inhabitants of interior-Suriname, specimens of whose handicraft preserved in six cabinets and other show-cases of the Museum have been consummately described by Mr. Goslings. The reproductions in the work show that some of the wood-work and pottery are of excellent workmanship. Mr. Goslings has well executed his work, but a map of Suriname would have increased the general utility of the book.

H. B. SARKAR

Inleiding tot de ethnologie van de Indische Archipel: By J. Ph. Duyvendak, forming Vol. I of the Indische Cultuur-Historische Bibliotheek, pp. 201, Batavia, 1935.

Within the last 50 years progress has been made in the study of the ethnology of the Indian Archipelago, but in many of its phases not even the rudimentary work has been done.

Though the present work is not comprehensive, it has sought to give a unity to the results of research achieved so far. The author has handled the data with ability and has produced an eminently readable work. His coinage of some ethnological terms (p. 71ff) is generally commendable. The work opens with a tirade against the use of the terms "Nature-folks" and "primitives" and recommends "Not-historical folks" as the most suitable one; he has not, however, discarded the use of the first two terms (pp. 32, 101, 102, 160, etc.). Pp. 19-27 have been devoted to a consideration of the people of the Indian Archipelago in respect of their Negrito, Weddoid, and Malay elements. As one person does not possess all the traits of a race, a plea for racial and cultural study for ethnology is made on pp. 28-29. The second chapter offers an ethnographic sketch of the Mentaweiers and is chiefly based upon the valuable studies of Alb. Kruyt. The succeeding two chapters, those on society and religion, are most interesting from the ethnological point of view and should provoke further research. The last chapter is aptly devoted to the culture-complex of the primitive and the modern world, and this brings the present work to a close. The bibliographical notes have greatly increased the value of the book. It may be safely recommended to those who wish to have a good idea of the subject without going through a number of text-books. The work should have contained an index.

H. B. SARKAR

Hayagrīva: The *Mantrayānic* Aspect of Horse-cult in China and Japan. By R. H. Van Gulik. Published by E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1935.

To investigate the origins of a deity belonging to a particular cult, as well as to trace its gradual development not only in the environment of its original sphere but also in its newer surroundings when it is included in the pantheon of another cult of the same culture-area is a task worthy of accomplishment. To do full justice to it, the researcher has to examine in detail all the available data of a religious

nature, especially in their mythological and ritualistic aspects from the earliest period onwards; for in this way alone, he can not only detect the different stages underlying the gradual development of the ideology about the particular divinity, but also to offer explanations for the successive changes. The importance of his task is further enhanced, when he tries to follow the migration of the above-mentioned god-concept into distant countries and to trace the stages leading to its inclusion into the ritual and mythology of these lands outside the culture-area of its origin.

Mr. R. H. van Gulik has set before himself this task in his recently published *Hayagrīva*, and it must be admitted that he has fulfilled it with credit. Though he limits his subject to the *Mantrayānic* aspect of the horse-cult in China and Japan, he has rightly prefaced his study by a brief reference to the nature of the Mahāyānic gods and a comparatively full treatment of the question about the first appearance of Hayagrīva in Indian mythological tales, closely associated with the cult of Viṣṇu. Hayagrīva first makes his clearly recognisable appearance in the epic literature of India. He was the deliverer of the Vedas from Madhu and Kaiṭabha, the two demons who stole them from Brahmā, and it was he who restored them to Brahmā. In certain (presumably later) portions of the great epic, however, Hayagrīva appears also as the name of a demon, an ally of Tārakāsura, who was an inveterate enemy of Viṣṇu and other gods and who was killed by Viṣṇu in the Tāraka War. Some late *Purāṇas* like the *Bhāgavata* and the *Agni* assign as the motive for destruction of this demon the theft of the Vedas by him. The god Hayagrīva, however, is now or even earlier, definitely incorporated in the list of the various incarnatory forms of Viṣṇu. The author has noticed all these points in detail; but his remarks (p. 17) that 'the passage in *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (V, ch. 17) is the only one in the old literature where the horse-form of Viṣṇu is positively mentioned in the list of the Avatāras' and that 'this passage is a latter interpolation' are open to objection. Thus in the list of the 39 *vibhavas* (*avatāras*) mentioned in the *Ahīrbudhnya Saṃhitā*

(5.50 ff.), which according to Schroeder belongs to the older and authoritative group of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, Viṣṇu's Vaḍabāvaktra, i.e., Hayagrīva form occupies the 11th position. So, Nābhādāsa's mention of the same form as the 18th *avatāra* of the Lord Viṣṇu in his *Bhaktamāla* is based on the much earlier Pāñcarātra tradition. As Viṣṇu has this form, so the demon Hayagrīva after his death in the hands of Viṣṇu in the Tāraka battle, assumes the shape of the horse-demon Keśin in the forest region of Yamunā (Yamunāvana) to kill Vāsudeva, another *vibhava* of Viṣṇu. The killing of the Hayarāja, i.e., Keśin is referred to at least twice in the great epic, once in the *Droṇa Parvan* (5.3), and again in the *Udyoga Parvan* (130.47), where Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa's exploits both in his early and mature ages are being recounted respectively by Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Vidura; but here there is no reference to his having been an incarnation of the demon Aśvaśirah.

In these stories we can certainly detect the various stages in the development of the myth-forms. If we try however, to seek for the nucleus of these myths in earlier literature, we tread on uncertain ground. The reference in the *Udyoga-parvan* (ch. 99) to the Hayaśira āditya who, on every auspicious occasion, rises from the Pātāla region and fills the world called *suvarṇa* with Vedic hymns, suggest that this passage marks an early stage in the possible development of the idea of Hayagrīva Viṣṇu who was an āditya, from the sun-horse conception of the Vedic period. The author draws our attention here to the horse-shaped Dadhikrā (Dadhikrāvan), mentioned in various hymns of the *Rgveda*, who is none other than the sun-god himself conceived in a theriomorphic form. But it is curious that he should refrain from alluding in this connection, to the Vedic Ṛṣi Ātharvaṇa Dadhyañc who was endowed with a horse's head by the Aśvins in order that the twin-gods might learn from the seer the *madhuvidyā* which was taught to the sage by Indra or Tvaṣṭṛ. The author's reference to the efforts of certain scholars to connect Dadhica with a horse's head with the general conception of the horse-headed figure (p. 17,

n.2 of his monograph) is not commensurate with the importance of the subject. The author, again, seems not to have been able to enunciate fully his proposition, *viz.*, that the function as fecundity-symbol is credited to the horse on account of phallic considerations, to which category the identification of Hayagrīva and Viṣṇu and the Aśvamedha in general belong; it is indeed unlikely that this will ever be proved beyond doubt.

The early references to Hayagrīva, the restorer and the reciter of the Vedas fully prove that he was primarily a deity presiding over knowledge and wisdom. This characteristic trait is throughout maintained in the Brāhmanical conception about the god. The number of late manuscripts on *Mantra* and *Mantra Kalpa* centering around Hayagrīva, which is noticed by Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri in his *Triennial Catalogue of Manuscripts (Vol. VI, Part I) for the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library*, clearly proves this point. The *Hayagrīva pañjaraṃ* begins thus: *Śrīhaya-grīvopañjaramantrasya Brahmā Rṣiḥ, gāyatrīchando Haya-grīvo devatā*, etc.; in the *Hayagrīva kavaca* (said to have been taken from the *Hayagrīva tantra*) we have:—*Om Hayagrīvāya śuklavarṇāya jñānamūrtaye Omkārāya acyutāya Brahma-vidyāpradāyakāya svāhā*; the *Hayagrīva-stotra* begins with this couplet: *Jñānānandamayam devam nirmalasphaṭikā-kṛtīm/Ādhāraṃ sarvavidyānām Hayagrīvamupāsmahe//*; and Vedāntadeśika, the great Śrī-Vaiṣṇavite teacher of the south aptly sings the praise of this god in his *Hayagrīva-stotra* in this vein: *Tuṣārādrisamacchāyam tulasidāma-bhūṣaṇam/ Turaṅgamamukhaṃ vande tuṅgasārasvata-pradam// Abhaṅgurakalādāna-sthūlalakṣatvamīyuse/ Tuṅgāya mahase tasmai turaṅgāya mukhe namaḥ//*. Many of the iconographic descriptions of this god substantiate this view; thus, the *Viṣṇudharmottaram* passage (Part III, ch. 80, verses 1-6) about the eight-handed form of Hayagrīva distinctly describes it as a part of Saṃkarṣaṇa (Sāṃkarṣaṇāṅga) who is himself that emanation of the lord (Para-Vāsudeva) in which two, *viz.*, *jñāna* and *bala* of the six-fold *aśvarya* are specially predominant. The element of fear

underlying the character of this divinity in its Brāhmanical aspect is present to a certain extent; but this does never outweigh its primary trait. This fact has not sufficiently been emphasised by the author in the second chapter of his monograph. When the god-concept Viṣṇu-Hayagrīva was adopted into the cult of the Mahāyāna Buddhism as Vidyārāja Hayagrīva as an aspect of Avalokiteśvara as early as the beginning of the 6th century A.D., this characteristic trait was given a new orientation. This Vidyārāja the king of the Vidyādharas, the carriers of magical knowledge or magic power, came gradually to be conceived as a divinity with terrific features chiefly invoked for the fulfilment of one's desires and for *abhicāra* purposes, though its earlier placid and benign aspect is not totally lost sight of (*cf.* Bhattacharya, *Buddhist Iconography*, Pl. XLIII. 1). Certain Brāhmanical manuscripts of a late date lay down this fierce trait; thus, the *Hayagrīvāstram* (Kuppuswami Sastri, *ibid.*) begins with 'Om am hraum sphura sphura praspura praspura ghora ghoratara Hayagrīva ehi ehi surūpa Kṣīragaura hayānana caṭa caṭa pracaṭa pracaṭa kaha kaha aśvavaktra bhrama bhrama bhrāmaya bhrāmaya bhaṣmīkara bhaṣmīkara, etc. and ends thus—*Hayagrīvamahāstraṃ ca vijavandhaṃ satot-taram/ Ajutaṃ ca japeṇrityam atyantam śubhadāyakam/ Sarvaroguharam śastraṃ sarvāniṣṭavināśanam/ Sarvasiddhi-karam caiva sarva-śatruṇikṛntanam/ Mahaiśvaryapra-dam caiva mahāvaśyakaram tathā/ Ityādisugunairyuktaṃ Hayagrīvāstrameva ca//*' That this was certainly due to the Buddhist mantrayāna influence on Brāhmanical Hinduism is clearly proved by another manuscript in the same collection, *viz.*, *Hayagrīvamālāmantra* which begins thus—'Athāto bhagavantaṃ sarvatejonidhiṃ sarvaduṣṭadurīta-vi-dhvaṃsinam mahāvidyārājārūpiṇam Hayaśīrasamāvartayi-ṣyāmi.'

It is not certain whether there existed in old China the cult of the horse considered as a fecundity symbol; in Japan however, it might have been popular from the early mythological age. But when the Buddhist Hayagrīva was introduced in both the countries by the preachers of the Mahāyāna

cult the developed concept of mantrayānic aspect of this deity took deep roots there. This is clearly evidenced by the *dhāraṇīs*, *mantras* and the *mudrās* especially associated with this cult in those countries. The author's elaborate notices of the sixth chapter of the Chinese text of the *Dhāraṇī-saṃgraha* or *Dhāraṇī-samuccaya* (the greater part of which particularly treats of this figure), and of the Japanese canon about the same, supply us with ample materials for substantiating this point. In course of his historical survey of the migration of Hayagrīva to these lands far away from India, the author has tried to establish the point that 'Hayagrīva won for himself a place in the foreground, and syncretistically or otherwise, incorporated local gods in his own person' especially in Tibet, in Mongolia, and to a certain extent also in Japan; and this fact might also have greatly contributed to the development of the particular trait which we have tried to emphasise in the course of our present review.

The author modestly describes his effort as only of a preliminary and fragmentary character and claims the indulgence of his readers by an apt quotation from the *Dyūtaparvā-dhyāya* of the *Sabhāparva* of the great epic. Though his readers may not see eye to eye with him in every finding of his, yet it must be admitted that the critical handling of the multifarious data brought in by the author in the discussion of various problems and the scholarly restraint with which he has enumerated the many curious ritualistic details connected with his theme have entitled his achievement to rank as an able and meritorious one.

JITENDRA NATH BANERJEA

Agastyaparwa, uitgegeven, gecommented en vertaald door J. Gonda, overdruk uit de *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, dl. 90 afl. 2-3, 1933, dl. 92 afl. 3, 1935, dl. 94 afl. 1-2, 1936.

Dr. Gonda has already earned a well-deserved reputation as the editor of the Old-Javanese *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*. The work under review is characterized by the same comprehensiveness that marked his earlier work and every page of it bears the stamp of his wide reading. It presents for the first time a critical edition of the text of the *Agastyaparwa* (based on eight or nine MSS.) containing besides the translation, textual criticism, critical notes, glossary of important words not found (or partly found) in the standard dictionaries and so forth. Dr. Gonda has well handled the Sanskrit data in connection with his attempt to trace the sources of the present work, but as he does not go far enough in this direction, an Indian Sanskritist may profitably resume the investigation at the point left over by Dr. G. The contents, composition, nature and origin of the *Agastyaparwa* have been discussed by the author (*ibid.*, pp. 337-338) with his usual good sense and caution. We notice, however, a slight mistake on p. 385. It is not true to say, as Dr. G. does after Krom, that *Sandhyādwaya* ('the two twilights') does not occur in the curse-formulae of inscriptions after the time of Airlangga. In copper-plate No. IV of Bluluk (OV., 1919, Bijl. G.) dating from the Majapahit period (*cf.* Krom, *Geschiedenis*,² p. 384), the word has been explicitly mentioned in pl. VI, r°. 1. Similarly, in line 7, second face of the inscription of Nglawang, TBG., 53 (1919), pp. 411-412, reference has been made to the *dwisandhye* (obviously the same as *sandhyādwaya*) and this record also dates from the Majapahit period. But these and a few others are essentially minor mistakes and they do not detract from the high value of the work which has entailed considerable research on the part of the author. The author's task has been executed exceedingly well. As the work is closely connected with Sanskrit Purāṇic literature, it is commended to the notice of the Sanskrit scholars of this country, and to the students of Sanskrit Purāṇic literature in particular.

Koninklijke Vereeniging Koloniaal Instituut, Amsterdam, vijf en Twintigste jaarverslag, 1935.

The Colonial Institute of Amsterdam was established on the 11th August, 1910. Since then it has spread its activities in various directions and has undertaken some useful publications. The present report gives a *résumé* of its activities for the last 25 years.

H. B. SARKAR.

The India that is India: By Elizabeth Sharpe. Published by Luzac & Co., London.

Miss Elizabeth Sharpe lived in India for nearly a quarter of a century and occasionally enlightened Anglo-Indian and American readers by publishing articles in the *Illustrated Weekly* and in the *New York World*. These desultory writings are now published, as she admits in her Foreword, "to prevent Europeans applying their own standards of judgment in solving problems which are essentially matters for the Eastern people alone." In her sanctimonious "Conclusion," she makes her propaganda more crudely palpable when she unctuously rebukes England for "her mistake in this careless implanting of her democratic ideas in the soul of an intensely conservative people." She hopes, however, that the world will ultimately know "the greatness, the liberality and the magnitude of England who having gained all, gave back all!" The concluding phrase may have served as a better title for her veiled political pamphleteering, for she has written only a mediocre "Mother India," lacking the literary verve and aggressive venom of Catherine Mayo. Earning her salary as the Private Secretary to the Thakore Shahib of Limbdi, she has shown little respect for the ladies behind the *Purdāh* and as little knowledge of the Indian girls about whom she has naïvely generalised. We wonder if the writer ever moved out of the enclosure of the Indian States and talked to a few of our College girls or

our women leaders like Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi of Madras or Dr. Mrs. Karve of the Women's University, Poona. Her ignorance of India outside the Indian States is colossal and she insidiously applies to *all Indians* whatever she detects as reprehensible in any isolated individual or community. She omits conveniently, however, to mention a few progressive Indian States, like Baroda (so near to her), Mysore and Travancore. With only 6 or 7% of literacy at the present day, India has produced thinkers and writers, political leaders, social workers and philanthropists—men and women—whom Miss Sharpe might have saluted gracefully before quitting this country. But she preferred to humiliate further a fallen nation with faint praise and lip-sympathy which Indians by now have learnt to evaluate at their true worth. She has pictured the ignoble state of the India that *is* India. But what about the India that *shall be*, the India that is struggling to rise above all that *is*? Miss Sharpe has nothing to report on that topic and so her career of a quarter of a century, no less than her naïve generalisations, would be counted among the many "curiosities" of the realm of *Is* which are fast passing into the limbo of *Was*.

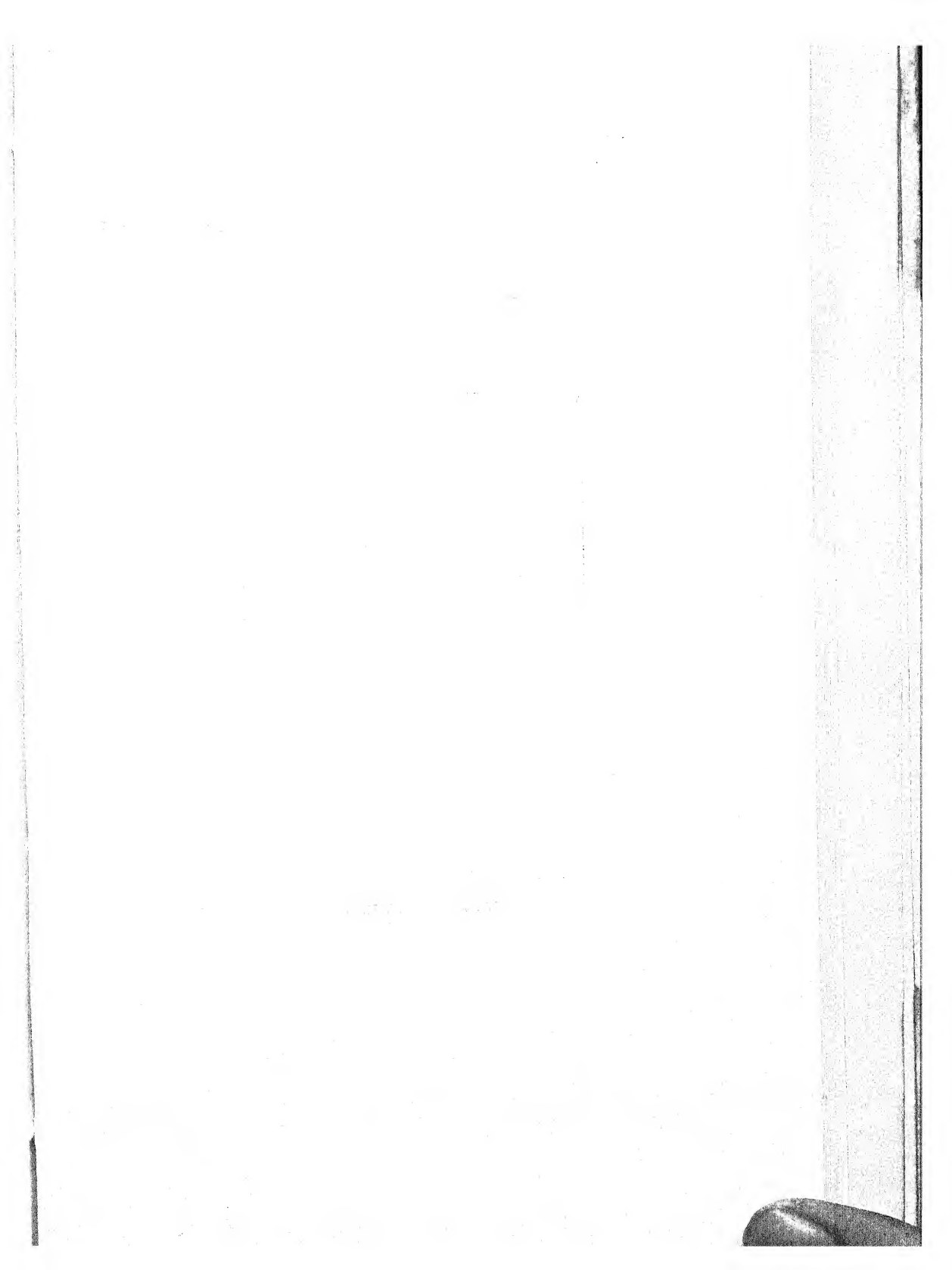
K. N.

Book of Rām: The Bible of India: By Mahātmā Tulsīdās. Rendered into English by Hari Prasād Shāstri. Published by Luzac & Co., London.

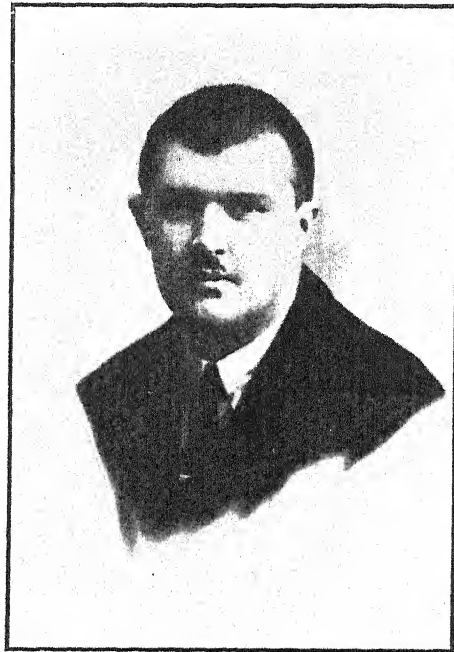
It is an encouraging sign that the classics of mediaeval India are drawing the attention of the general public. English translations of Kabīr and Mīrā Bāī have already been published. Now the adaptation of the *Rāma-carita-mānasa*, the grand Hindi Epic of Tulsīdās (a contemporary of Akbar and Jehāngīr) is presented by Pandit Hari Prasād Shāstri. He has tried to perform his task with devotion, but he lacks the literary and historical sense and thus his prose *résumé* appears rather prosaic, specially because the original poem of Tulsīdās is surcharged with poetic grace and literary

qualities. The miracle elements have been exaggerated, and what the author has missed is the simple beauty of the original poem which has captivated the heart of millions of souls down to this day. The *Introduction* from the pen of Lotus Dudley, although uncritical, is written with sympathy. Legends and miracles about Tulsidās may attract only a few and alienate many sober readers. The transliterations of Indian names are far from being satisfactory. But the little book will, we hope, rouse sufficient interest to permit another issue which should contain more of the dramatic and poetic passages and also a good and scholarly Introduction on the life and works of Tulsidās, who was a real pioneer of Indian Vernacular literature.

K. N.



J.G.I.S., July, 1936.



DR. E. E. OBERMILLER

OBITUARY NOTICE *

Dr. E. E. Obermiller

Dr. E. E. Obermiller (according to the Russian manner of addressing everybody by his Christian name and the name of his father—Evgenii Evgeniewich, *i.e.*, Eugen son of Eugen) was born in St. Petersburg (now Leningrad) on the 29th October 1901. In his earliest youth his extraordinary gifts, especially his never-failing memory and great musical capacities, attracted general attention. He received a good education in his family home where great care was bestowed on teaching languages and music. When he entered the Government School he already possessed an almost perfect knowledge of French, German and English. His parents prepared him for a musical career, they had every reason to expect that he would be a celebrated composer and performer. But in the year 1918 when he was already a University student, a constitutional illness appeared and that obliged the parents to alter their plans. This illness 'Serlingomelia' was hereditary in the Obermiller family, it was lameness progressive and incurable. The mother of E. E. died of it at the age of 30. As his father died before her the young student Obermiller was left an invalid orphan to the care of two aunts Mrs. Olga Obermiller and Mrs. Elizabeth Schwede. These two devoted ladies did all they could for the life of their dear nephew under the very difficult conditions from which the country suffered during the great war and the revolutions which followed. It was at this juncture that he began at the University to attend my lectures on Indology and Sanskrit Grammar. He very quickly mastered all the difficulties of Sanskrit Grammar, owing to his quite extraordinary memory he also very successfully went through all other courses of Sanskrit literature which I conducted at that time in the University of Leningrad. When we began the study of Pāṇini on the basis of

* *By courtesy of the Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XII, No. 2, Calcutta.*

Siddhānta-Kaumudī he was profoundly impressed by, and full of admiration for, the greatest Indian linguist, he knew by heart almost every *sūtra* and cherished for some time a scheme of writing the grammar of the Russian language according to the grammatical *sūtra*-method of Pāṇini. After that we studied with him *Alaṃkāra Śāstra* on the basis of *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva* and the *Dhvanyāloka* when the young student became thoroughly versed in the *Śāstra* style. I initiated him into Indian philosophy. This is the usual series of courses in Sanskrit which are followed in the Leningrad University. After having acquired a good basis in Sanskrit it became a quite easy task to acquire the knowledge of Tibetan and Mongolian tongues, since the ideas expressed in the respective literatures are thoroughly Indian, the grammar and vocabulary offered—for a man so gifted as was Obermiller—no difficulty at all. After having taken his University degree of Ph.D., Obermiller was engaged by the Academy of Sciences of Leningrad as an under-secretary to the Redactor of the *Bibliotheca Buddhica* where he at once began to work also as an independent scientific producer. His first works were two *Indices verborum* Tibetan-Sanskrit and Sanskrit-Tibetan of the celebrated work on Logic by Dharmakīrti, the *Nyāya-bindu*. They were executed with the greatest care and thoroughness in every detail; the scientific activity of Obermiller extends only over 8 years, from 1927 to 1935. During these eight years he has produced quite enough to fill up a long and successive life entirely devoted to science. Here is a list of his main works—

1. *Sanskrit and Tibetan Index Verborum to Nyāyabindu, Nyāyabindu Ṭīkā*, edited; *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, Leningrad, 1927.
2. *Tibetan and Sanskrit Indian Verborum* to the same work, Leningrad, 1928.
3. *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, Sanskrit text and Tibetan translation, jointly edited with Prof. Th. Stcherbatsky, *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, Leningrad, 1929.
4. *Bu-ston's History of Buddhism*, Part I, in the *Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus*, Heidelberg, 1931.

5. The Sublime Science of the Great Vehicle to Salvation, a translation of *Uttaratantra* of Bodhisattva Maitreya with the commentary of Asaṅga, *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. IX, 1931.
6. *The Doctrine of Prajñā Pāramitā*, as exposed in the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* of Maitreya, *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. XI, 1932-33.
7. *Bu-ston's History of Buddhism*, II, *Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus*, Heidelberg, 1932.
8. The Account of Buddha's Nirvāṇa and the first Councils according to the *Vinayaśūdraka*, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. V, III.
9. A Study of Twenty Aspects of Śūnyatā, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. IX, 1933.
10. *Analysis of the Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, Fasciculus I, *Calcutta Oriental Series*, 24.
11. Nirvāṇa according to Tibetan Tradition, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1934.
12. On the meaning of the term 'Śūnyatā', *Journal of the Greater India Society*, July, 1934.
13. A review of the *Madhyāntavibhāgasūtrabhāṣya-ṭīkā*, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, December, 1933.
14. *Bhāvanā-karma* as an historical document. *Calcutta*, 1935.
15. *Bu-ston's History of Buddhism* and the *Mañjuśrī-mūla-tantra*, *JRAS.*, London, 1935.
16. A review of Goddard's *Principle and Practice of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, 1935. *OLZ.*, No. 15.
17. A review of Winternitz's *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, *Orientalische Literatur Zeitung*, Leipzig, 1935.
18. *Sphuṭārtha-Abhidharmaśāstra* edited by Prof. U. Wogihara and Prof. Th. Stcherbatsky and carried through the press by E. E. Obermiller, *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, XXI, 1931.
19. Additional Indices to the Doctrine of Prajñā Pāramitā as exposed in the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* of Maitreya, *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. XI, 1933.

TH. STCHERBATSKY

NOTES

Last year the Greater India Society had to mourn the loss of one of its patrons, the late lamented Raja Reshee Case Law. The ranks of the Society's patrons have been still further thinned by the death, in May 1936, of Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee. The Society owes a deep debt of gratitude to both these departed souls whose generosity helped it to overcome the initial struggles of its existence.

The Greater India Society has profited, as in former years, by the generous donations of the National Council of Education, Bengal, and of Dr. Narendra Nath Law amounting to Rs. 500/- and Rs. 100/- respectively.

The Greater India Society has entrusted Mr. Himansu Bhusan Sarkar, M.A., with the task of bringing out an authorised English translation of Dr. N. J. Krom's *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*. The Society takes this opportunity to convey its sincere thanks to Dr. Krom not only for authorising the translation, but also for undertaking to add his own notes to make it quite up-to-date.

The Society hopes at once to take up its announced publication, a work of Dr. G. Tucci called '*Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swât Valley*', illustrated with plates.

Extracts from the Annual Report of the Greater India Society (1935-36)

General

With the year 1935-36 the Greater India Society entered upon the ninth year of its existence. The record of the Society's activities during this year, though not marked by any dramatic developments, was, on the whole, one of steady progress.

Management

The constitution of the Managing Committee remained unchanged during the course of the year. The Committee had, however, to mourn the loss of one of its oldest patrons, the late lamented Raja Reshee Case Law. As in the preceding year, the important business of the Committee was disposed of, as the occasion arose, by circulation among its members. During the year the Hony. Secretary continued to act as the editor of the Society's Journal in addition to his usual duties. The composition of the Journal Committee remained the same as at the beginning of the year and it exercised its functions according to the occasion.

Office

As in the preceding year, the office establishment was kept at the minimum strength. There was, however, a slight increase in the cost, as the clerk Babu Gaurikinkar Banerjee, received an increment of Rs. 40/- only as his annual honorarium. The Committee owes a debt of sincere thanks to Mr. P. K. Sen, Chartered Accountant and a Calcutta University lecturer, for his honorary services as the auditor of the Society's accounts. The Committee takes this opportunity to thank Mr. Haridas Banerji of the Government Commercial Institute for the kind offer of his services as honorary auditor, which, however, could not be acted upon as the permission of the Head of the Department did not reach the Secretary in time. During the year it was possible, thanks to the generous help of the Executive Committee of the Post-Graduate Department of the Calcutta University and especially of its worthy President, Mr. Syama-prasad Mookerjee, to transfer the Society's accumulated stock of books, periodicals, reports, etc., to the Asutosh Building of the University, where it was kept in a separate almirah, which also was a gift of the University. The arrangement and preliminary listing of this collection were taken in hand by the Hony. Assistant Secretary.

Members and Subscribers

The number of members on the Society's rolls on the 31st March, 1936, was the same as in the preceding year. The number of subscribers to the Society's Journal showed a slight decrease. Though this loss cannot but be disquieting, the Committee recalls with gratitude the continued patronage extended to it in the form of multiple subscriptions by the Governments of Baroda, Mysore, Travancore and Gwalior as well as the provincial Government of Assam. The Committee takes this opportunity to record its deep sense of sorrow at the death of Dr. E. Obermiller who was its Honorary member and one of the most active contributors to its Journal from the very start.

Lectures

Ten public lectures were delivered during the year under the joint auspices of the Greater India Society and the National Council of Education, Bengal. The range covered by these lectures may be judged from the subjoined list of subjects to which is attached the name of the lecturer in each case :—'Origin of Vedic ritual' (by Dr. B. K. Ghosh), 'Some Problems of Indology' (by Dr. S. K. Chatterjee), 'Visits to Siam, Cambodia, Java, Bali and Kailas' (by Swāmi Sadānanda),—'Firdausi and India' (by Mr. Md. Ishaque), 'Bṛhattara Bhārata' (by Mr. D. P. Ghosh). In addition to the above, a condolence meeting was held with Mr. P. Chaudhuri in the chair and the Consul-General of France attending, to mourn the death of Professor Sylvain Lévi of revered memory. The Committee takes this occasion to thank the authorities of the National Council of Education, Bengal, for meeting, as in former years, the charges attendant on holding the meetings.

Publications

One issue of the Journal (Vol. II, No. 2) appeared during the year, while the following issue, which was brought out as the Sylvain Lévi Memorial Number, was unavoidably

delayed in publication till May, 1936, owing to the necessity of obtaining papers from Ceylon, Indo-China, Holland, France and America. During the year Dr. G. Tucci of the University of Rome offered for publication by the Society his work called—'*Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swât Valley*' and the Society gladly accepted the offer. Unfortunately, the work could not be taken up for publication, as the author failed to send his revised MS. in time.

During the year the Hony. Secretary arranged to give effect to the resolution of the Committee requesting Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra to undertake, on behalf of the Society, an English translation of Dr. Krom's *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*. But the arrangement fell through owing to the inability of Dr. Chhabra to take up the work. The translation has since been undertaken at the Committee's instance by Mr. Himansu Bhusan Sarkar, Dr. Krom having agreed not only to authorise the work but also to revise the MS., when completed, and bring it up-to-date.

Library

The Committee views with satisfaction the success of the Society in gradually building up a nucleus of up-to-date publications on Greater India obtained mostly as exchanges or review-copies for its Journal. Not to speak of exclusively Indological Magazines, the Society is now on the regular exchange list of the following standard periodicals on Greater India and connected studies:—(i) Djawa, (ii) Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, (iii) Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, (iv) Zapiski, (v) Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde, and (vi) Archaeological Survey of Ceylon Memoirs. The Society also regularly receives publications of the following institutions:—Koninklijke Vereeniging Koloniaal Instituut, Instituut für Volkerkunde der Universität Wien, Institut des Etude Orientales d'Académie Sciences, (USSR), Koninklijke Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. Among individual scholars who have favoured the Society with gifts of their publications may be mentioned Baron A. von Stäel-Holstein, Dr. G. Tucci,

Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, Prof. Louis de la Vallée Poussin, Dr. M. Winternitz, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and Dr. R. O. Winstedt. A notable acquisition of the Society's collection during the year was a complete set of "Djawa" kindly presented by the Java-Instituut at Batavia.

Conclusion

In concluding this brief report of the last year's working, the Committee cannot but again express its very sincere thanks to those friends and well-wishers whose assistance has enabled the Society to win its slight success. Mention has been made in another place of the generous donations of the National Council of Education, Bengal, and Dr. Narendranath Law as also of the valued assistance of the Society's Hony. auditor for the year, Mr. P. K. Sen. But the list is far from being exhaustive. To Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, Editor of the "Modern Review", and to Dr. Narendra Nath Law, Editor of the "Indian Historical Quarterly", the Society is indebted for free advertisements of its publications in their well-known magazines. Dr. Law has laid the Society under an additional obligation by allowing a substantial discount on the printing charges owed by it to the Calcutta Oriental Press. The Committee, however, feels that the Society has not yet emerged out of the struggles of its infancy. It is perhaps idle to expect that the Society's dream of possessing a permanent home filled with a representative collection of literary works, charts, photographs etc., relating to Greater India, will be fulfilled even in the near future. But, as was said in the Annual Report of the last year, the Society is urgently in need of a reserve fund. Money is also badly needed for purchase of some furniture. Above all, recruits are needed not only for shouldering the growing business of the Society, but also for improving the standard of its Journal so as to make India's part in the elucidation of the culture of Greater India worthy of its heritage. The Committee appeals to every lover of Indian culture to rally round its banner and it earnestly trusts that its appeal will not go in vain.

Publications of Cognate Interest in Other Journals

Djāvā: 16de Jaargang No. 1, 2 en 3, 1936.

Colin McPhee—*The Balinese wayang koelit and its music*. The author gives here a detailed description of the famous puppet shadow-plays of Bali. The stories of these plays are mostly drawn from the Rāmāyaṇa or the Mahābhārata.

Walter Spies—*Bericht über den Zustand von Tanz und Musik in der Nĕgara Gianjar*.

The author gives interesting details about the old dances and music of Nĕgara Gianjar in Bali. Only this district is said to have preserved in its pristine purity the ancient dances and music of Bali; but the author deplores that even here Western influence has begun to do havoc.

W. F. Stutterheim—*Enkele Oudheiden van Bali*. (1) The author discusses here a pillar on the south coast of Bali bearing an inscription of king Śrī Keśarivarmadeva dated 917 A. D. This inscription is written partly in Devanāgarī script and partly in Old-Javanese script. The most astonishing feature of this inscription is that the portion in Old-Javanese script contains Sanskrit words and the portion in Devanāgarī script contains Old-Javanese words. The inscription records an expedition to Moluccas. (2) The second antiquity discussed by the author is a large relief found near Bĕdoeloe and (3) the third monument is a grotto near Tabanan.

R. Goris—*Enkele Mededeelingen Nopens de Oorkonden gesteld in het Oud-Balisch*.

The author here gives a bird's-eye view of the languages and dialects in which the Old-Balinese records

are written. The most ancient records are written in Sanskrit ; but from 882 A. D. to 1072 A. D. both Sanskrit and Old-Balinese are used. Afterwards Old-Javanese is the only language used, presumably as a consequence of the marriage of the Balinese ruler Udayana with a Javanese princess. Javanese remains the language of court and literature for a long time. Even Modern "high" Balinese bears the clear impress of contact with Old-Javanese.

Journal of the Burma Research Society, Vol. XXVI, pt. I

Pe Maung Tin—*Buddhism in Inscriptions of Pagan.*

Ibid. Pt. II.

W. S. Desai—*History of the Burmese Mission to India, October, 1830, to July, 1833.*—Based on Indian Office MS. of Col. Henry Burney, Resident in Burma. Describes the experiences of two Burmese envoys who travelled from Ava, *via* Calcutta, Benares, Allahabad and Cawnpore, to Agra and back again to Ava *via* Patna, Bodh Gayā and Calcutta.

Ceylon Journal of Science (Sec. G, Archaeology, Ethnology etc.),

Vol. II Pt. 3

S. Paranavitana—*Archaeological Summary: Brickwork* [description with drawings of various types of bricks shown by letters engraved on them to belong to the early centuries A. D.]—*Evolution of the Stūpa* [extant specimens show that in Ceylon the earliest *stūpas* followed the Indian model, consisting of the *harmmikā* and above it an umbrella or series of umbrellas in stone supported by stone-posts; but an important change took place about the 5th century A. D. when there was developed above the *harmmikā* the cylindrical structure called *devatākoṭuwa* which was evolved from the base of the *chatradaṇḍa*, and above

the *devatā-koṭuva* the tapering spire which was nothing but the old *chatrāvalī* with the space between the umbrellas filled with brickwork]—*Stonework* [extant Brāhmī inscriptions on pillars show that stone pillars were in vogue at least as early as the beginning of the Christian era. This supports the statements in the chronicles and disproves Mr. Hocart's view that stone pillars were introduced in Ceylon about the 8th century.]—*Sculpture* [description, with plates, of a new type of moon-stone, of a colossal Pārinirvāṇa Buddha of the 9th or 10th century A.D., of an image of Viṣṇu, which is described as one of the best examples of Hindu stone image found in Ceylon]—*Paintings* [description of three Buddhist cave-paintings ascribed to the first half of the 12th century]—*Hindu Temples* [Mention of a Śaiva shrine ascribed to the Pāṇḍyan epoch].

Journal Asiatique, t. CCXXVII, No. 1, Juillet—September, 1935.

Lin Li-Kouang—*Puṇyodaya (Na-t'i), un propagateur du Tāntrisme en Chine et au Cambodge à l'époque de Hiuan-tsang*: Gives a biography of the Indian Buddhist monk Puṇyodaya who arrived in China from Middle India in 655 A. D. with a collection of Sanskrit MSS. triple the size of that brought back by Hiuan-tsang in 645 A. D. Also analyses Puṇyodaya's two surviving works, viz., the Chinese translation of the *sūtra* of the octuple *maṇḍala* otherwise called *Śiṃhavyūharāja-bodhisattva-paripṛcchā-sūtra* and the *Vimala-jñāna-bodhisattva-paripṛcchā*.

Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient,

t. XXXIV, 1934, Fasc. 2

Coral-Rémusat, Goloubew and Çœdès—*La date du Tà Kèu*. Mme. Coral-Rémusat discusses here the probable dates of the various parts of Tà Kèu:—In architecture it

is posterior to Prè Rup and anterior to Bâphûon. The colonettes are certainly posterior to Prè Rup and Bantây Srēi and anterior to the *gopura* of the royal palace. The author concludes that the Tà Kèv could have been constructed only in the latter part of the 10th or the first part of the 11th century. M. Goloubew adds some notes on the details of the plan which go to support the thesis of Mme. Coral-Rémusat and M. Coedès brings to it additional support from epigraphical evidence.

Constantin Régamey—*Bibliographie Analytique des Travaux relatifs aux éléments anaryens dans la civilisation et les langues de l'Inde*: The author modestly says in the preface that he has confined himself here only to pointing out the chief works concerning the relations of the Muṇḍās and Dravidians with the other races and linguistic groups of India. Particular attention has been paid naturally to more recent works. It will be certainly very useful to every student of Indian history, ethnology, religion, mythology etc. A classified index has greatly enhanced the value of the work.

Philippe Stern—*Le Temple-montagne Khmèr. Le Culte du Liṅga et le Devarāja*: The author points out that from the earliest period to the time when the type of the Khmèr temple was definitely fixed, the temple-mountain was connected with the *liṅga*. He discusses further the possible relations between the cult of the *liṅga* and that of *Devarāja*.

Ibid, XXXV, 1935, Fasc. I

H. Parmentier—*Complément à l'Art khmèr primitif*: The author here gives valuable supplements to his renowned work on primitive khmèr art.

Robert Dalet—*Dix-huit mois de Recherches archéologiques au Cambodge*: A detailed report of an archaeological survey of eighteen months in Cambodge.

B. G.

Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, 1935, 5. Heft.

Josef Strygowski—*Der Amerasiatische Kunststrom.*

The renowned art-historian gives here a short but brilliant survey of his own and his pupils' works proving the existence of an "Amerasiatic" art at a very early period in Siberia which has influenced the Indo-European art on the one hand and the Red-Indian art of America on the other. Traces of this "Amerasiatic" art may be found even in some traits of Indian art in the opinion of the author.

Helen B. Chapin—*A study in Buddhist Iconography.*

The writer describes here an unusual type of image of Cintāmani-cakra Avalokiteśvara from Japan in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin.

Ibid., 1935, 6. Heft.

Anton Hoenig—*Der Stammbaum des Borobudur.*

The author again propounds here his old theory that the Caṇḍi-Borobudur was originally a pyramid of nine stories with a comparatively small upper platform which carried not a *stūpa* but a temple. The present plan replaced the older one when in course of construction it became necessary to lessen the pressure of the weighing masses on the hillock. [The highest authorities on the subject, Bosch and Stutterheim, are however, quite sceptical about this theory, though, the author has found a supporter in Coomaraswamy.]

B. G.

BOOKS RECEIVED

The Greater India Society acknowledges with thanks the receipt of the following books, periodicals, reports pamphlets etc. during the last six months.

1. *Flamen-Brahman*: By Georges Dumézil, Paris, 1935.
2. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XII, No. I, Calcutta, 1936.
3. *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XIV, Pt. 3; Vol. XV, Pt. I, Madras, 1935.
4. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XVII, No. 2, Poona, 1936.
5. *The Buddha-Prabhā*, Vol. 4, No. 2, Bombay, 1936.
6. *Śrī Jaina Siddhānta Bhāṣkāra* (The Jaina Antiquary), Vol. 3, No. 1, Arrah, 1936.
7. *Aanwinsten van het Koninklijk Koloniaal Instituut*, No. 8, Amsterdam, 1936.
8. *Tijdschrift voor Indisch Taal-, Land-, en Volkerkunde*, deel LXXVI, afl. 3, Batavia, 1936.
9. *Journal of the Malay Branch RAS*, Vol. XIV, Pt. II, Singapore, 1936.
10. *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, N.F.*, 11 Jahrg., heft 6, Berlin, 1935.
11. *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, t. XXXIV, Fasc. 2, Hanoi, 1935.
12. *Nouvelles Recherches autour du Phnom Bakhèñ*: By Victor Goloubew, Hanoi, 1935.
13. *Annual Report of the Varendra Research Society for 1934-35*, Rajshahi, 1936.
14. *The Sūtra of the Lord of Healing* (*Bhaiṣajyaguru Vaiduryaprabha Tathāgata*), Peiping, 1936.
15. *The Decline and Fall of Morals*: By Nicholas Murray Butler, New York, 1936.
16. *Agastyaparwa*: By J. Gonda, Utrecht, 1936.
17. *Oudheidkundige Vondsten in Palembang*: By F. M. Schnitger.

18. *Addenda en Corrigenda* to above.
19. *De Groote Vleermuis van Tjeta (Midden-Java)*: By F. M. Schnitger.
20. Four cuttings of '*Deli laurant*' : By F. M. Schnitger.
21. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XXVI, Nos. 3 & 4, Bangalore City, 1936.
22. *Djawa*, 16de Jaarg., Nos. 1, 2, en 3, Jogjakarta, 1936.
23. *The Study of Javanese Literature in India*: By C. C. Berg, Leyden, 1936.
24. *Ceylon Journal of Science*, (Sec. G), Vol. II, *Contents and Index*, Colombo, 1936.
25. *The Annamalai University Calendar*, 1936-39, Madras, 1963.

REPRINTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF THE GREATER INDIA SOCIETY

- BHATTACHARYA (VIDHUSEKHARA), *A Sanskrit Treatise by a Tibetan Author*, pp. 8.
- CHHABRA (BAHADUR CHAND), *Identification of Śrī Viṣṇuvarman of the Perak Seal*, pp. 5.
- COOMARASWAMY (A. K.), *The Source of, and a Parallel to, Dionysius on the Beautiful*. pp. 7.
- GANGOLY (O.C.), *On some Hindu Relics in Borneo*. with 4 plates. pp. 7.
- GEIGER (WILHELM), *Contributions from the Mahāvamsa to our knowledge of the Mediaeval Culture of Ceylon*, pp. 23.
- GHOSH (DEVAPRASAD), *Migration of Indian Decorative Motifs*, pp. 10 with 2 plates.
- Do. *Sources of the Art of Śrīvijaya*, pp. 7.
- GHOSH (MANOMOHAN), *On the Source of the Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa Kaṭawin*. pp. 5.
- HACKIN (J.), *Archaeological Explorations on the Neck of Khair Khaneh (near Kabul)*, pp. 13, with 6 plates.
- MAJUMDAR (R. C.), *The Śailendra Empire*, pp. 17.
- Do. *The Struggle between the Śailendras and the Colas*. pp. 21.
- Do. *Decline and Fall of the Śailendra Empire*, pp. 13.
- Do. *The Malay*, pp. 11.

- NAG (KALIDAS), *Sylvain Lévi and the Science of Indology*.
pp. 15 with 1 plate.
- OBERMILLER, (E), *The term Sūnyatā and its different interpretations*, pp. 13.
- Do. *A Sanskrit MS. from Tibet,—Kamala-
śīla's Bhāvanā-krama*, pp. 11.
- Do. *A Sanskrit Manual of Tsoṅkhapīst worship*,
pp. 3.
- PARANAVITANA, (S.), *The Kāliṅga Dynasty of Ceylon*. pp. 8.
- PRZYLUSKI (J.), *The Śailendravarmanśa*, pp. 12.
- Do. *Indian Colonisation in Sumatra*, pp. 10.
- Do. *Greater India and the work of Sylvain Lévi*.
pp. 5.
- SARKAR (HIMANSU BHUSAN), *An Old Javanese Inscription from
Penampihan of the Śaka year 1191*, pp. 16.
- Do. *Ten Old Javanese Copper-plates*
- Do. *Literary and Epigraphic Notes,
from Sidoteka of the Śaka year 1245*. pp. 28
- Do. *Literary and Epigraphic Notes*.
pp. 5.

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By Himansu Bhusan Sarkar, M.A.
Research Scholar in History, Dacca University.

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